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THE

WILTSHIRE

Archæological and Natural History

MAGAZINE,

Published under the Direction of the Society

FORMED IN THAT COUNTY A.D. 1853.

VOL. VIII.

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NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS.

A General Index to the Wilts Archæological Magazine, will be printed at the end of the present volume (vol. viii).

Annual Subscriptions (10s. 6d.) are payable in advance, on the First of January, to Mr. Edward Kite, Devizes.

*** The Numbers of this Magazine will not be delivered, as issued, to Members who are in arrear of their Annual Subscription: and who on being applied to for payment of such arrears, have taken no notice of the application.

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"MULTORUM MANIBUS GRANDE LEVATUR ONUS."—*Ovid.*

THE NINTH GENERAL MEETING

OF THE

Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society,

HELD AT MALMESBURY,

Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, 5th, 6th, and 7th, August,

1862.

PRESIDENT OF THE MEETING,

(In the absence of the Rt. Hon. T. H. S. Sotheron Estcourt, M.P.)

Edward Dugdale Bucknall Estcourt, Esq.

THE Ninth Annual Meeting of the Society was held at Malmesbury. The proceedings commenced on Tuesday, the 5th of August, at the Town-Hall, at one o'clock. There was a very large attendance, including many ladies.

Mr. Edward Estcourt, on taking the chair, said that some few words of apology, or at least of explanation, would be required from him, His brother's illness having prevented him from being present and presiding, the Committee of Management looked about for a substitute, and he supposed they thought one bearing his name might represent him. Accordingly, they had invited him to occupy the chair. He felt himself unqualified for that duty, as he knew very little of the subjects they had to consider, but at the same time, if he could be of any use, he had always been brought up to do what he could for the general advantage, and he was the more encouraged by being told that his duties would be very slight, the principal part of the Chairman's duty being to sit in the chair, and say little. Accordingly, he was there to fulfil those duties as

well as he could. But before he proceeded to do so, he begged to offer in the name of the authorities of this town, and the people in the neighbourhood, a hearty welcome to their visitors. The Society would find many objects of interest; the old Abbey Church was well worthy of a visit from those who came from a distance, and even Salisbury with its beautiful cathedral, and Wilton with its gorgeous church, need not be ashamed of belonging to the same county as Malmesbury Abbey. In conclusion he called attention to the objects which would be visited in the course of the excursions that had been arranged, and requested the Rev. A. C. Smith, one of the Honorary Secretaries, to read the Annual Report.

REPORT FOR 1862.

"The Committee of the "Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society" has again the pleasant duty of congratulating its members, on the continued prosperity and the flourishing state of their affairs: indeed, in proof of this assertion, we may point with satisfaction to the cheering fact, that from the commencement of the Society at Devizes, in 1853, to the present moment, the number of members has steadily advanced; so that, though we have annually to deplore many losses from our ranks by death, withdrawal, or removal from the county, the enrolment of new members has every year counterbalanced that loss; and the result is that while deprived of only 12 members since our last annual meeting, we have gained 27 new ones, and the number of names now on the books amounts to 390. But though our loss has been numerically small, it has been intrinsically greater than perhaps in any single year of our existence, as we have to lament the decease of four of our more active members, who contributed to the pages of our Magazine, or assisted at our annual meetings. The name of the late Venerable Archdeacon of Wilts (Archdeacon Macdonald), will be held in grateful remembrance by us, as having been a most active and zealous member of the Council, when not prevented by illness or absence, or more important duties; and also as the author of a Paper in our sixth volume, called "Historical Memoirs of the parish of Bishops Cannings." The other able coadjutors whom we

have now to regret, were the Rev. John Ward, late Rector of Wath, Yorkshire, who contributed the "History of Great Bedwyn;" Mr. Charles Edward Long, the author of several spirited papers in our Magazine, on "Wild Darell of Littlecote;" and the Rev. George Marsh, late Rector of Sutton Benger, who read an interesting Ornithological paper at Warminster.

"Your Committee cannot pass over in silence the departure of one of their General Secretaries, the Rev. W. C. Lukis, to a distant county; and though they still hope to reap the benefit of his Archæological and Architectural knowledge, and continue to claim him as one of their working body, yet distance must very much diminish opportunities for such communication, and necessarily deprive them of much of his valuable assistance.

"To pass on to the result of last year's labours. Your Committee has no hesitation in affirming that during the past twelve months the Society has more than ever advanced the great object it has had steadily before its eyes from the first, viz., the collecting of information relating to the Archæology and Natural History of Wilts, with a view to the completion of the history of the county. The greatest stride we have made in this direction has been the publication a few months since of the "Wiltshire Collections, by Aubrey, corrected and enlarged by Canon Jackson." The book is now in the hands of the public, and your Committee cannot but congratulate the Society on being the instrument of publishing such a volume, so replete with the particular kind of information which it desires to impart. The Magazine has necessarily been somewhat hindered by the large work referred to, but the 20th Number was issued six months since, and the 21st Number, completing the Seventh Volume, is passing through the press, and will shortly be in the hands of the members.

"Another work, and necessarily a work of time, the collecting "Parochial Histories" from the incumbents of parishes, has made considerable progress during the past year, and from the patronage and active support of the Bishop of Salisbury, well seconded by the kindness and zeal of a great body of his clergy, and under the direction of one of the Secretaries of the Society (the Rev. A. C.

Smith), bids fair to produce such a mass of valuable information, and such reliable statistics of every parish, as will largely conduce to the end proposed.

"With regard to the state of our finances, your Committee has every reason to express satisfaction. The accounts were carefully prepared and audited at the close of last year, and though an extraordinary outlay has been incurred in the publication of the "Collections for Wiltshire, by Aubrey and Jackson," yet from the rapid sale of the book, your Committee has a confident expectation that the Society will not be a loser in a pecuniary point of view, while in credit it has been immeasurably the gainer.

"It remains only to make mention of the Museum and Library, which are receiving continual additions in various departments; and to thank the kind friends who have contributed to our stores. Among these, we must more especially name the Rev. W. C. Lukis, who has deposited in our Museum, among sundry urns and much pottery (the spoil of the many barrows he has of late years opened in Wiltshire), several bone implements of exceeding rarity and value; one of which, a bone hammer, has been pronounced by the authorities in the department of antiquities in the British Museum, to be altogether unique.

"To the liberality of William Long, Esq., of Bath, we are indebted for two more plates, illustrating his valuable paper on Avebury in the 4th volume of the Magazine; and to many other benefactors our best thanks are due."

The Report having been unanimously adopted, and the officers re-appointed for the ensuing year,

Mr. E. A. Freeman then proceeded to give an Address on Malmesbury Abbey. His views upon the subject having been already published in the "Ecclesiologist," June 1852, our readers will be glad to find that we have his permission to reprint that Paper in the present Number of this Magazine: together with some further observations introduced into his Address at Malmesbury.

On the motion of the President, seconded by Sir John Awdry, an unanimous vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Freeman for his lecture.

The company then adjourned to the Abbey, where nearly an hour was spent under Mr. Freeman's guidance, in examining its principal features, both within and without. The remainder of the time was occupied in an inspection of the ancient House, now occupied by Mr. Jennings.

At five o'clock, a party not numbering less than a hundred ladies and gentlemen, sat down to dinner at the King's Arms Hotel, where excellent provision had been made for their entertainment by the landlord, Mr. Jones.

Grace was said before and after dinner by the Rev. Canon Jackson.

After dinner, a few toasts were given, the first being the Queen, the Prince of Wales, and the rest of the Royal Family; which was followed by that of the Bishop and Clergy of the Dioceses of Salisbury, and Gloucester and Bristol. The latter toast was coupled with the name of the Rev. C. G. Cotes.

The Chairman next proposed the Army, Navy, and Volunteers, with the names of Major Nelson Goddard, Captain Meredith, and Captain Perry Keene.

The Lord Lieutenant of the County, and the Corporation of Malmesbury, having been duly honoured, Sir John Awdry proposed the health of the President, the Rt. Hon. Sotheron Estcourt, M.P., to which the Chairman responded.

Mr. Matcham proposed the health of the General Secretaries, the Rev. Canon Jackson and the Rev. A. C. Smith, who severally acknowledged the compliment.

The Rev. A. C. Smith proposed the health of the Local Secretaries, Mr. Harris and Mr. Forrester, both of whom also replied.

At seven o'clock, a *Conversazione* was held in the Town-Hall, which was attended by most of the principal inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood, the Countess of Suffolk and the Ladies Howard being among the company, and by a large number of visitors from a distance.

The Rev. Canon Jackson F.S.A., then read a paper on "the History of Malmesbury," which will appear in the Magazine.

At the close of the reading, a hearty vote of thanks was, on the motion of the Chairman, accorded to the Rev. gentleman.

During the morning and evening, a large number of persons were admitted to the temporary Museum, held in one of the ante-rooms of the Town-Hall, where many objects of local interest were deposited. In another page will be found a List of these Articles.

WEDNESDAY, August 6th.

An Excursion took place under the guidance of Mr. Forrester, one of the Honorary Secretaries to the Meeting. About fifty members and friends of the Society, left the King's Arms Inn, Malmesbury, at half-past nine o'clock, arriving at Charlton a few minutes after ten. After inspecting the parish church, they proceeded to Charlton House, where they were courteously received by the Earl and Countess of Suffolk, Viscount Andover, M.P., and several members of the family, who very kindly accompanied the visitors over the drawing rooms and picture gallery of the mansion. The company left Charlton about eleven o'clock for Tetbury, halting on their way thither at Newnton Church. After visiting the old and new Churches at Tetbury, they went on to Beverston Castle, which place they reached about the time fixed, two o'clock. The old castle with its chapels was here the principal object of interest, from the top of which a beautiful view of the surrounding neighbourhood was obtained. In the National School-Room (kindly lent for the occasion by the clergyman of the parish), an excellent luncheon was provided by Mr. Jones, of the King's Arms Inn, Malmesbury; after partaking of which, a paper on the History of Beverston Castle, written by Canon Jackson, was read to the meeting by the Rev. E. C. Awdry. The company afterwards repaired to Beverston Church, where two curious monuments attracted considerable notice. Soon after three o'clock the party left for Estcourt House, where they halted about four o'clock. In the absence of the worthy owner of the mansion, (the Rt. Hon. T. Sotheron Estcourt,) they met with a hearty reception at the hands of his brother, E. D. B. Estcourt, Esq. After spending a short time in examining the interior of Estcourt House, the parish Churches of Shipton Moyne and Brokenborough were

visited, and the party reached Malmesbury about six o'clock. The weather was somewhat stormy, but notwithstanding this we believe the excursionists, one and all, spent a most pleasant day.

In the evening a *Conversazione* was held in the Town-Hall, the attendance being again both large and influential. Mr. E. D. B. Estcourt, who presided, opened the proceedings by a few remarks, in which he expressed his regret that the weather had not been more propitious, and begged the visitors not to believe "it was usual in this part of Wilts." He then called upon the Rev. W. H. Jones, F.S.A., Vicar of Bradford-on-Avon, to read a paper on "Bishop Aldhelm and his Times."

The Rev. A. C. Smith read a paper entitled "A Plea for the Rooks:" which will be found in the Magazine.

Mr. W. Cunnington, F.G.S., then made some observations on a portion of the Geology of Wiltshire, illustrated by a diagram of a section of the strata at Stert, near Devizes, which he pointed out as one of the most remarkable geological "faults" (as they are styled) in the county of Wilts. What causes these faults is not so clear, but it is evident that there was some disturbance below, pushing up the underlying horizontal strata through those which were superincumbent, tilting them up most unceremoniously, and leaving them in this strangely uncomfortable vertical position, at an inclination of about 35 degrees.

At the conclusion of Mr. Cunnington's address, the President desired to express the thanks of the meeting to the three gentlemen who had favoured them with such interesting papers. Of the first and last he would not presume to express an opinion, having never turned his attention to such matters, but with regard to Mr. Smith's paper, he was happy to say that in that immediate district rooks were not destroyed in the manner which had been described. Mr. Estcourt then remarked in a humorous manner on the harmlessness of the so-called bird boy, generally an old man with a rusty gun, which seldom went off, and never hit the mark; and also alluded to the prevalent notion, to which however Mr. Smith did not seem at all to assent, that rook-shooting, as the nestlings were leaving their nests, was conducive to the prosperity of the rookery, though

he confessed that the same rule would hardly be upheld, as desirable to be carried out in planting a human colony.

The PRESIDENT then said that as this was the last opportunity of their meeting in the town of Malmesbury, he desired to express thanks once more, to the Secretaries of the Society, to the Local Committee, the two Local Secretaries, (Mr. Harris and Mr. Forrester), and the Curator of the Museum, (Mr. Jennings), as also to the inhabitants generally, for the interest they had taken in the proceedings, and especially to all those who had contributed to the Temporary Museum: he then reminded the company of the proceedings as arranged for the following day, and declared the business of the evening terminated.

CANON JACKSON begged to say that the proceedings were not quite over for that evening: indeed (as was said to be the case in certain postscripts) they had left the most important part to the last, and that was to return thanks to the President of the meeting. For when they first came down to arrange the meeting at Malmesbury, owing to the lamented illness of the President of the Society, they were in great danger of coming before the public in the very unseemly condition of a body without a head. But in this emergency it had occurred to them, that perhaps amongst the gentlemen living in the neighbourhood of Malmesbury, they might find a substitute for their chief. They had been so fortunate as to find one, who not only in the lineaments of his face, but still more in his readiness to come forward and give his aid, when wanted, most nearly resembled his highly esteemed brother. To the President of their meeting, who had so kindly acted at their request, and had fulfilled the duties of his office so ably, he therefore proposed their best acknowledgments.

Mr. ESTCOURT thanked the company, and declared the pleasure he had had in presiding over them. Mr. CUNNINGTON then announced that the Annual Meeting of the Society for the next year would in all probability be held at Devizes, and in the name of the inhabitants of that town bid the Society welcome. The meeting then separated.

THURSDAY, August 7th.

The heavy clouds and occasional storms of rain prevented the excursionists from starting punctually at half-past nine, as on the day previous. Still, nothing daunted by threatening weather, very nearly the same company and in the same carriages, left Malmesbury for their second day's exploration of the neighbourhood. They visited in succession the Churches of Little Somerford, Great Somerford, Sutton Benger, Draycot, Stanton, and Leigh Delamere, the two latter of which occupied a considerable time, and attracted universal interest: then halting for a few moments at Leigh Delamere School, to examine the elegant bell turret which once surmounted the old church, they went through Sir John Neeld's grounds to Grittleton. After luncheon in the School, which was very prettily decorated by the kindness of the Incumbent the Rev. T. B. Lancaster, Canon Jackson announced that he had received a letter from Sir John Neeld, regretting his absence and inability to do the honours of his house, in consequence of recent domestic affliction, but deputing him (Mr. Jackson) to act as *cicerone* in his stead, and conduct the company through the galleries, and show them the works of art collected therein. The company then adjourned to the mansion, where they spent a couple of hours. Grittleton Church was next visited, and then, after a peep into the hospitable Rectory and its pretty gardens, the excursionists separated, heartily delighted with their three days tour.

A List of Articles Exhibited

IN THE

TEMPORARY MUSEUM IN THE TOWN-HALL, MALMESBURY,

August 5th, 6th, and 7th, 1862.

Those marked with an Asterisk have been presented to the Society.

By the CORPORATION OF MALMESBURY:—

The four silver MACES of the Borough, two bearing the arms of James I., and the other the arms and initials of Queen Anne. * Impressions from the three BOROUGH SEALS. The larger of these, which is more than two inches in diameter, is engraved in Moffatt's "Malmesbury," p. 97, and also in the recent edition of Aubrey's "Wiltshire Collections," by the Rev. J. E. Jackson, Plate xxiii., No. 368. It bears the Arms of the Borough, and the legend, "SIGILL. COM. ALDRI. BURGEN. BURGI. DE. MALMESBURY. IN. COM. WILTS. 1615." The second Seal is somewhat smaller and bears the same Arms with the legend slightly varied—"SIGILL. COM. ALDRI. ET. BVRGEN. BVRGI. DE MALMESBVRY. IN. COM. WILTS." The third, a still smaller Seal is inscribed—"SIGIL. COM. ALDRI. ET. CAPITAL. BVRGEN BVRGI. DE. MALMESBVRY." Moffatt (p. 132) mentions an earlier Seal, in use temp. Queen Mary, with the legend—"Commun' sigill' Burg' de Malmesbury."

By P. AUDLEY LOVELL, ESQ., *Colepark*:—

Small bracket shaft of carved oak (15th century) terminating in a mitred head of a Bishop or Abbot, and apparently one of the supports of a roof or fireplace.

By R. HUNGERFORD POLLEN, ESQ., *Rodbourne*:—

Small bronze figure of a knight on horseback, in the armour of the 14th century.

By W. H. CRESSWELL, ESQ., *Sherston Pinckney*:—

A collection of stuffed birds, nearly 40 in number, including many rare Wiltshire specimens. Betrothal ring, temp. Charles I., found in Pinckney Park. It consists of two separate rings, which when placed together exhibit two joined hands each enclosing a small representation of a skeleton. Motto, "*I give thee my hand and heart, 'till death doth us part.*" A series of about 50 Roman and other coins. Newark siege piece, temp. Charles I. Bottle with Arms of the Cresswell family.

By the Rev. E. C. AWDRY, *Kington St. Michael*:—

An ancient Clog Almanack consisting of a square piece of wood, containing three months on each of its four edges. The number of days in them are expressed by notches, and every seventh day by a large-sized notch. Against many of these notches are marks or symbols denoting the golden number or

cycle of the moon. The festivals are marked by symbols of the saints issuing from the notches, as *a gridiron* for St. Lawrence, *two keys* for St. Peter, *a wheel* for St. Catharine, and so on. These curious instruments appear to have been in use from an early period until late in the 17th century. Similar specimens are to be seen in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and the Cheetham Library at Manchester. In Camden's Britannia, vol. ii., p. 499, there is a plate of a Clog Almanack, showing the four sides, with an explanation of the various marks and devices upon them.

By the Rev. G. A. GODDARD, *Clyffe Pypard*:—

Whetstone and fragments of ancient British pottery, found with bones, charcoal, &c., in "Cuff's Corner," Clyffe Pypard, 1860; also fragments of pottery, bones, &c., found in "Middle furlong roughpatch," Clyffe Pypard, February, 1862.

By the Rev. EDW. WILTON, *West Lavington*:—

Two paving tiles from the old Church of Chitterne All Saints, one bearing a chevron between 3 rams—the Arms of Simon Sydenham, Dean of Salisbury, (1418-31), and subsequently Bishop of Chichester; the other a cross moline—the Arms of William Alnewyke, L.L.D., Archdeacon of Sarum (1420-26). These Arms are interesting as furnishing the date of some repairs or restoration of the Church by the Dean and Chapter of Sarum, who are the alternative patrons of the living.

By the Rev. B. WINTHROP, *Hardenhuish*:—

A series of 25 photographs taken chiefly from public buildings in the city of Rome.

By the Rev. W. CHAMBERS, *Garsdon*:—

Slab bearing an inscription to Sir Lawrence Washington, Knt., "Chief Register of the Chancery," who died in 1643, aged 64; from Garsdon Church. Also three shields with the Arms of Washington. Sir Lawrence was the purchaser of the Manor of Garsdon from the Moody family. (Vide Aubrey's "Wiltshire Collections," edited by the Rev. J. E. Jackson, p. 242.)

By Dr. THURNAM, F.S.A., *Devizes*:—

Five Flint Arrow Heads, fragments of pottery from Niagara River, Canada. Two other Arrow Heads from United States, North America. Rubbing and sketch of some incised markings on the under surface of the fallen impost of one of the great triliths at Stonehenge.

By Mr. CUNNINGTON, F.G.S., *Devizes*:—

Fossil Elephant's teeth from the Drift of North Wilts. Slab of Forest Marble from the neighbourhood of Malmesbury, showing ancient ripple marks and footprints of crustaceans. Case of Fossils from the Forest Marble of Stanton, Hilperton, &c. Flint implement from the Drift gravel near Chippenham, with similar implements from North America and the gravel beds of Amiens. Slab of Cornbrash from the neighbourhood of Malmesbury, containing 50 specimens of Echinoderms.

By Mr. F. PARSLOE, *Malmesbury*:—

Eight photographic views of Malmesbury Abbey and Cross, and Charlton and Somerford Churches.

By Mr. GILES, *Halcomb's Farm, Malmesbury*:—

Two large pieces of ancient Tapestry, one representing the meeting of Jacob and Esau, the other Jacob wrestling with the Angel.

By Mrs. F. Hanks, *Malmesbury*:—

Cannon ball, nearly 15 lbs. in weight, probably a memento of the Civil Wars. It was dug up some 36 years ago in a garden near the Abbey, where it lay embedded 3 yards in the soil of the embankment, and 2 yards beneath the surface.

By Mr. H. G. Hanks, *Malmesbury*:—

A wooden knife handle, richly carved, dug out of the foundation of Burnevale Chapel. It bears a shield of Arms, 3 heads ? between six swords crossed, and the partly obliterated name "William Pi——." Three specimens of bronze fibula, and ring dug up on the Fosse near Malmesbury.

By Mrs. R. Britton, *London*:—

Dress of a lady (18th century). Brooch given by Lord Byron to Miss Boyce.

By Mr. T. S. Lansdown, *Architect, Malmesbury*:—

Model of an octagonal Font in the Early English style, with clustered shafts and foliated capitals representing the maple leaf, four of the panels of the bowl bearing the evangelistic symbols. Design for a Church of the Decorated style, with semi-octagonal apse, nave, aisles, tower and spire. Cast from an architectural fragment, apparently the key-stone of a Norman arch, representing a wolf's head; found in restoring Middlewich Church, Cheshire. Several rubbings from Monumental Brasses.

By Mr. W. Panting, *Malmesbury*:—

Four views of Malmesbury Abbey published by Jukes in 1789. Several Elephant's teeth from Ceylon.

By Mr. G. Moore, *Malmesbury*:—

Pair of ancient iron spurs found in 1861 on pulling down part of a wall formerly belonging to the Bell Inn.

By J. Canter, Esq., *Malmesbury*:—

Two Deeds relating to the Manor of Schelton, dated the 9th and 18th of Edward II. Lease for three years of a moiety of the Manor of Aust, co. Gloucester, from Richard Denys to Thomas Denys his brother, 13th Elizabeth. Specimens of ancient pipes. MS. description of the town of Malmesbury.

By Mr. James Pike, *Malmesbury*:—

Brass hook for suspension, with the bust of King Charles, surrounded with crowns and acorns.

By Mr. T. Clark, *Malmesbury*:—

Several letters from the late Wm. Cobbett. MS. account of several eminent natives of Malmesbury.

By T. Chubb, Esq., *Malmesbury*:—

Table made from a piece of ancient oak from the roof of Malmesbury Abbey.

By J. S. C. Jennings, Esq., *Malmesbury*:—

Ten Nuremberg Tokens found in the Abbey House, Malmesbury. Several encaustic tiles from the site of the Abbey. An interesting collection of butterflies, moths, and beetles, mostly Wiltshire specimens. Also a collection of bird's eggs. Three letters addressed to Prince Rupert concerning the taking of Malmesbury in March, 1642, by Sir William Waller:—

No, I.

Sr.

in obedience to your comands I have sent you what powder bullet and

match I had, the proportion wee brought being very litle; therefore I beseech your Highnes that you will bee pleased to give more order whither I shall send for more.

Yo^{r}. hign̄es most
humble servante
Roger Burges.

Malmesbury, March
the 6th 1642.

No. II.

May it please you^{r} Highness,

havinge recd̄ thes inclosed from the Governor of Malmesbury about 3 of the clocke this Morninge I thought fitt in duty to aquaint your highness with this intelligence, and I humbly beceech you^{r} Highness to tacke the strenth of our Garison into consideracon which standeth thus. Collonell Owins Regiment consisting of about 400 men whereof not 200 arm'd, Collonell Bamphield 120 not 60 of them armed. Collo: Coocke some 25 or 26 souldiers and as many officers. And the Armes that I receved from Prince Maurise is but 40 Muskets and 26 pickes, neither can I receve aney from my Lord Chandoyes notwithstanding you^{r} Highness Leter & other invitations. soe that the Enemy beinge stiringe this way my request to your highness is that you woulde be pleased to send some Regiment that is armed and I doubt not but wee shalbe able to withstand aney oposition they shall dare to macke. soe with my humble service to your highness I rest

Your higness servant to Comande
Jo: Innes.

Cirencester, March 17th 1642.

No. III.

S^{r}.

yeaster day Sr Will: Waler sett upon Malmesbury and play'd very hard upon it with his great and small shott, about 2 of the clocke this Morninge I sent out such force of horse & Dragoons as I coulde rayse for to aide them, but they came tow howers to late for the towne was deliv'red up, but upon what tearms I do not as yeat certainly heare. the enemy hath taken all the Comanders and officers with moste of the souldiers only some few excepted which made escape. wee expect them with us every hower. I thought fitt to advertise your highness hereof that hapely in time your highness might aforde some reliefe to them or ayde to us. Soe with my humble services I take leave and Rest

Your highness Servant to Comand
Jo: Innes.

Cirencester, March 22th
1642.

Malmesbury.

By the Rev. Canon Jackson, F.S.A.

(Read at an Evening Meeting of the Wilts Archæological Society at Malmesbury, Aug. 5th, 1862.)

IT is usual with Archæological Societies to bring with them a little information about the places which they visit at their Annual Meetings, and according to this custom you are now to hear some account of Malmesbury. The town has, in its day, seen a good deal of service, and makes no inconsiderable figure in the domestic history of England. All that can be done in a single paper, read for the amusement of an evening audience, must be, to give an outline of principal events.

The first thing that every body likes to know about the place they live in is, that it is a very ancient one. We all love to trace our origin up to dark ages and to lose it in clouds. In this you shall have the fullest satisfaction: for one old chronicle says that there was some kind of strong place here 596 years *before* Christ, more than five centuries before the Romans occupied this country; that its name as well as that of the river, was then Bladon; and that the builder was a British king, who is mentioned as having also built similar fortresses elsewhere in Wilts. Whether all this is true or not, nobody can say, but I do not see any reason why it should not be. The name of Bladon certainly occurs in ancient documents, and any one who only considers the situation of the town, on a hill with steep banks and streams nearly all round it, will see at once that it was precisely of that sort which was sure to be seized upon for defence of property, in days when property stood in very great need of being defended.

This was in the old British days before the Romans came.—What use the Romans may have made of the hill and the streams does not appear, for I do not remember to have heard that any Roman remains have ever been found precisely upon the site o

the town itself. Roman pedigrees lie underground. It is not enough merely to pick up a coin or two, because money may have been dropped anywhere. You must put the spade into the garden a little deeper than usual, find a mosaic pavement or a bath, and then you may claim to be the successors of Roman householders.

There is, it is true, the Foss road, running about two miles north of the town: and as the Foss is generally supposed to have been made by the Romans, it may be said that if there was a Bladon here *before* their time, probably there was a Bladonia here *during* their time. Not impossible; but first of all, is it quite certain that the Foss was *made* by the Romans? It is doubtful, and the reasons are these. First, the Roman Road-books have come down to us, and in them there is no mention of the Foss. Again: in one most important particular, the Foss (at least in our part of it) bears very little resemblance to what we are told about roads made by the Romans. We are told that such roads were most excellent, made with very great care. This can hardly be said of the Foss. It may be, or it may have been, better in other parts, but between Easton Grey and Bath, the only parts that have ever been made road at all are those which, happening to fall in with our village lanes, do now and then get modern parish-repair such as it is. In some parts, as for instance, at what is called the "Gib gate"[1] going down towards Castle Combe, this road is so narrow, that if two carts meet, one or other must go back. Along miles of it, the original soil has never been taken off at all, but there is the natural clay or rock, which neither pickaxe nor spade has ever disturbed.

The Foss has one strong Roman feature, viz., that it runs quite straight. That was a point of importance with them, one of their chief objects being to bring up troops with rapidity from a distance. They undoubtedly used the road, but it is not quite certain that they *made* it. If they did make it, it was probably during the last days of their occupation of this country, which would explain why its name is not mentioned in their Itineraries, or Road-books.

The Foss does not seem to have studied the convenience of

[1] Close to this turnpike gate is a public-house formerly called "Gibraltar," probably from having that fortress for its "Sign."

small country towns or villages, for all the way from Bath to Cirencester there is hardly one actually upon it, so that if any of its neighbours were desirous of using it, they must have driven, as we do, to a *Station.* At a place called Whitewalls in the parish of Easton Grey and at Brokenborough, some traces of Roman work have been found which are probably the remains of one of these Stations.

As the Foss does not help us to fix the Romans at Malmesbury we must go to the next period, when in truth its authentic history really begins, the Anglo-Saxon. This people (as we all know) came first into Britain about the year 450. They were heathens and idolaters when they came, but in the course of a century or two they became Christians. They crept into possession of Britain by degrees and after a great deal of hard fighting, and as they won, they divided it into several small kingdoms. Berkshire, Hampshire, Dorset, Somerset and Wiltshire formed West Saxony, or Wessex: Wiltshire was the northernmost part of it; and therefore this place being very near the northern boundary of Wiltshire, was very near, in fact upon, the northern boundary of Wessex; the next kingdom to it being Mercia. The old British name of Bladon disappeared with the old Britons themselves, and the Saxons called this place Ingel-burne.

The hill and its two rivers made the situation as useful to the Saxons as it had been to the ancient Britons; and when the kingdom of Wessex was completed, Ingelburne became important as one of its frontier military posts. In this capacity it was rather roughly used, but as houses soon recover themselves and spring up again, so Ingelburne began to revive; and there came hither a Missionary to assist in converting the heathen and idolatrous Saxons to Christianity. To that Missionary you are perhaps indebted for the name of your town, for his name was Maldulph, and Maldulph's-bury, in the popular mouth, would soon become Malmesbury. There are other derivations of the name, but this is the one which appears to have been rather the favourite at the Monastery.

Maldulph is called by some of the chroniclers an Irishman, by

others a Scot. It does not perhaps make much difference to us which he was: but the point may be settled upon a classical model.

In one of the Latin plays of Plautus, the god Mercury comes in to speak the prologue. He was of a very facetious and versatile humour, anxious to please everybody. "Now," says he, "first of all I come to tell you what this tragedy is about. What, good people, do you frown? Don't you want a *tragedy?* Very well, then I'll tell you what this *comedy* is about: for without altering a line, I'll make it a comedy; or, if you like it better, to please all parties, it shall be a tragic-comedy."

So with the case of Maldulph. Some say Irish, some say Scot, we will say Irish-Scot. And so to call him, is in fact to call him what he really was. For the country now called Scotland was not so named in the days alluded to. Its name then was North Britannia or Caledonia. The Scots were a people of Ireland, and about the year 500, some of them migrated into Caledonia, taking their name with them. Such of them as remained in Ireland, would be distinguished as Irish Scots, and one of these was Maldulph.

These Irish Scots were men of religion and of learning. It was by their aid in great measure, coming over as missionaries from Ireland, that the Saxon heathens were converted to Christianity. The Christian religion had been brought into Britain long before, but it had become very much debased, and the Irish Scot Missionaries did a great deal to re-establish it, before Augustine came from Rome.

Maldulph obtained leave to reside under shelter of the fortress, in that part of the town called Burnvale, where a chapel was afterwards erected, now entirely gone. He is spoken of as having been a hermit, probably one (of a class not uncommon in those days) who, being more educated than the rest, and living alone, was the "wise man of the place," consulted by everybody for every thing. Some suppose that he was only a sort of hedge-school-master, a collector of ragged scholars: but it is certain that he must have been a person of learning and position, because we find that among his scholars he reckoned one whom the kings of Wessex were proud to call their relative, the celebrated Aldhelm.

King's relatives don't go to ragged schools. We may therefore without extravagance venture to claim on behalf of Maldulf, the character of an accomplished and respectable Missionary from Ireland; and further, that 1200 years ago, Maldulf'sbury was (to use a familiar phrase) the crack school of the kingdom of Wessex. The youths educated there were attached to their teacher: they grew up into a sort of college, and the next step was to live under rules of discipline. The ground about the fortress happened to belong to the Bishop of Wessex, Eleutherius; he gave it for the purpose, and this was the beginning of the famous Abbey of Malmesbury.

Before we go any farther, let me call your attention to one point which it may be useful to bear in mind. The edifices now commonly called Malmesbury, Westminster, or Bath Abbey, were only the Abbey-*churches*.. An Abbey is properly the domestic buildings occupied by the monks. Of the *real* Westminster or Bath Abbey not one stone is left upon another. It is only the Abbey-church that we see. There is just the same difference at Oxford and Cambridge between a College and a College-chapel.

And whilst making distinctions, there is a second which it may be useful to understand. You read of the *secular* clergy and the *regular* clergy, and moreover that they were not always such good friends as they might have been. The difference in the meaning of the names is simply this. We parish clergymen, are *secular* clergy, because we live in *sæculo*, i.e., in the world, in *general* society. The *regulars* were the monks, who lived, not in parishes, but shut up in monasteries, *ad regulam*, i.e., according to the regulation and discipline of their order. The monks had nothing whatever to do with the spiritual care of parishes. If, as was very often the case, they possessed the tithes of a parish, they employed some secular clergyman, out of their house, to do the parish duty and work; and him they called their vicar, or representative.

The Monastic Order living apart by themselves and under rules of their own, always desired to escape from the authority of the Bishops, who were the heads of the secular clergy. They wished to depend only upon the Pope: and in this they very often succeeded. But it was a cause of continual jealousy in the dioceses:

and, at last, one of the reasons for the breaking up of the monasteries altogether. For when Henry VIII. wished to put an end to the supremacy of the Pope in this country, he found it impossible to tolerate any longer a legion of spiritual men who were the staunch upholders of that supremacy.

This explains the meaning of a curious sentence or two in the Deed, by which (as just now mentioned) Eleutherius, Bishop of Wessex granted the ground, to found an Abbey of *monks* at Malmesbury. He knew well enough that the first thing they would do, would be to shake off, if they could, his authority, at any rate that of his successors. So, foreseeing mischief, he seems to be very doubtful whether he is doing a wise thing: for he says to this effect more than once, "I do this, because I am earnestly requested: but if any trouble arise to my successors, I hope they will not blame me." He was evidently prevailed upon by Aldhelm's influence with the King of Wessex. It came to pass as he expected. In after times when the Abbots of Malmesbury became, in North Wilts, powerful rivals to the Bishops of Sarum in South Wilts, the Bishops of Sarum did their best to put an end to the rivalry, by uniting the Abbacy with the Bishoprick. As the matter is commonly put in books, it is merely stated that the Bishops wished to transfer the See to Malmesbury, but if more closely examined, the fact really was that not liking this rival power in the North which set their authority at defiance, they wished to have the Abbacy of Malmesbury merged in the Bishoprick of Sarum.

Now to go back to the founding of Malmesbury Abbey in A.D. 680.[1] Having obtained their site for a Monastery, the next step was maintenance. Among the first estates bestowed were Newnton and Somerford Keynes, and these were given by the King, not of Wessex, but of Mercia. At that time the country between Malmesbury, Cricklade, and Cirencester seems to have been in Mercia, not in Wessex. The river Avon is said to have been the boundary.

[1] In an ancient chronicle written by an uncertain author, and examined by Leland in Malmesbury Monastery, the foundation is assigned to an earlier year. "A.D. 637 Mahometus pseudo-propheta obiit. Eodem anno fundatum est Monasterium Malmesbir." "Leland's Collect.," I., 301.

I do not dwell upon Aldhelm's history, as it will form the subject of a separate paper by the Vicar of Bradford. Aldhelm was buried in a chapel of St. Michael, which he had built, but his remains were many years afterwards found and removed. Chapels of St. Michael were common in cemeteries. St. Michael is called in one of the Roman Services the *signifer*, or standard-bearer, being supposed to represent the herald of the Resurrection.[1] John Aubrey, who lived 200 years ago, thought that St. Michael's Chapel had stood where the House called the Abbey House now is. But he gives no authority for it, and the underground architecture of that House does not look as if it had been any part of a chapel.

After Aldhelm's death the Monastery had a hard matter to hold its own. The history of those days is but a wearisome repetition of petty kingdom fighting against petty kingdom: Wessex defeating Mercia to-day: Mercia victorious to-morrow: and as each lost or won, so was this Monastery on the frontier bandied from one to the other. Or else it was the Bishop in the lower part of Wessex, who would seize and enjoy its estates for years together. In truth, more than once it was almost extinct. Ethelwulf the father of King Alfred befriended it and greatly enlarged its possessions. King Alfred himself probably thinking that it stood (as in his days it very likely did) more in need of learning than of possessions, attempted to revive literature. Another learned Scot was sent to Malmesbury, but for some reason or other this second Missionary was unpopular. He came distinguished as the author of a Book, called a "Treatise on the Division of Nature, extremely useful in solving the perplexities of certain indispensable enquiries." But the youth of Maldulf'sburg, belonging to the school or college of the Monastery, made very short work both of his enquiries and himself, for they set upon and stabbed him to death with the steel instruments used in those days for writing. What the special cause of offence was, whether it was having to study the "Division of Nature," or

[1] This is alluded to in one of the Glastonbury Charters: Dugdale, New Monasticon, Charter No. v. "Oratorium edificaverunt, in honore Sancti Michaelis Arch-angeli, quatenus ibi ab hominibus haberet honorem, qui homines in perpetuos honores, jubente Deo, est introducturus."

having to write with steel-pens there is no explanation. He was looked on as a martyr, and was buried in the first Abbey-church dedicated to the Holy Saviour, St. Peter and St. Paul, a small one which stood near the south transept of the present Church.

If King Alfred did little for you, and was unlucky in that little, it was otherwise with his grandson, whose glorious and immortal memory is a household word at Malmesbury. The estates which he gave to the monks, at Norton, Somerford, and elsewhere, have long since passed into other hands; but the King's Heath still belongs to those to whom King Athelstan gave it, "the burgesses of Malmesbury, and their successors for ever."

And what, about the year 930, had the burgesses done to deserve a perpetual gift of 500 acres of land? They had done that which, of course, they are ready to do again when the next invader comes. "I give and grant to them," says the King in his charter, "that Royal Heath, near my little town of Norton, for their aid given to me in my conflict with the Danes." There were so many battles against the Danes that it may not be quite certain in which of them the valour of Malmesbury was displayed. Some have said it was at Sodbury camp: some nearer the town.

"That Royal Heath," says the translation of the charter; meaning of course in the dry legal sense, the Heath belonging to the Crown: for, in the appearance of Malmesbury Common before it was enclosed, there was (as those who knew it say) nothing Royal in any other sense. Trampled upon by hundreds of beasts, over-grown with furze, full of holes and swamps, it had become a royal snipe-ground, and its enclosure is very much lamented by those who used to ramble over it with their guns. Some of the holes may be accounted for. Coal was at one time supposed to lie underneath, and so much money was spent in digging for the black diamond, that none was left to pay for filling up the pits. The Heath was enclosed in 1821, and King Athelstan's gift is now enjoyed in a more beneficial form, in various shares, according to some established rules, into which we need not now enter.

I add a few particulars relating to the great benefactor of the town. Athelstan was a boy of extraordinary beauty and graceful

manners. His grandfather, King Alfred, made him a Knight at a very early age, giving him a "scarlet cloak, a belt studded with diamonds, and a Saxon sword with a golden scabbard." He was well brought up, and succeeded to the throne at 30 years of age. All England was subject to him except Cornwall and Northumbria. Cornwall he never got: but Northumbria he obtained by your help against the Danes. He subdued the Welsh, and made them do what they had never done before, and never liked to do at any time—pay him an annual tribute, of gold and silver and oxen, besides any number of hounds and hawks that he might ask for: which shows that even in those remote days hawking was a favourite amusement in this country. His name became European; costly presents were sent to him from Norway and France, and the presents are particularly described. "Such perfumes as had never been seen in England before: jewels that illuminated the countenance of the beholders; fleet horses, champing golden bits; alabaster vases, on which the figures seemed to move with life; the sword of Constantine the Great, bearing his name in golden letters, and on the pommel thick plates of gold with an iron spike said to have been used at the crucifixion of our Lord; the spear of Charlemagne, said also to have been that which pierced our Saviour's side; a diadem, so sparkling that the more you looked at it the more you were dazzled; besides a portion of the Holy Cross and Crown of Thorns." These two last he gave to the Abbey of Malmesbury, and as such alleged relics were in those days great stimulants to piety, no wonder that Malmesbury became a place of general resort. His two nephews, killed in the great fight against the Danes, were brought hither, and buried at the head of the sepulchre of their relative St. Aldhelm, which would be in the Chapel of St. Michael. The King himself dying at Gloucester in 941, was also buried at Malmesbury, under the altar: or as William of Malmesbury says (De Pontif. Lib. v.) "at the altar of St. Mary, in the tower." William of Malmesbury the historian, who supplies these particulars, was the librarian of the monastery here 200 years after Athelstan's time. He tells us that upon one occasion he saw the King's body in the coffin; that he had been of becoming stature,

thin in person, his hair flaxen, and beautifully wreathed with threads of gold.

About 20 years after Athelstan there succeeded to the Throne another Pharaoh that knew not Joseph, King Edwy, whom the monks describe as a weak and foolish young man. No wonder, for he hated monasteries. The faces of the monks were sad and pitiable: they were turned out, and their rivals, the secular clergy, admitted to occupy their place. This change is described by one of the ejected, in language which may be grating to the ear, for he says that the monks were sent away, and the monastery was turned into "a *sty* of secular Canons." If any secular clergyman present should also happen to be a Canon, he must feel that this description of his predecessors is not conveyed under the most complimentary image in the world, but making allowance for the provocation which the poor expelled "regular" had received, we will overlook it.

Nevertheless, the monks were a match for King Edwy. A happy thought struck them. They took out of its coffin the body of his great relative St. Aldhelm who had been dead more than 250 years, and exhibited it in a shrine. The effect was wonderful! The King not only relented, but immediately restored the monks; and to make up for his former misbehaviour, he actually bestowed upon them by far the largest gift they had ever yet received, the Manor of Brokenborough; a name which must have included in those days a great deal more than it does now, for it appears to have comprised several of our modern parishes all round Malmesbury.[1]

The tide now settled fairly in favour of the monasteries, and in the following reign (that of Edgar, from A.D. 959 to A.D. 975) these establishments increased all over England both in number and in wealth. The secular clergy had been illiterate and it was now their

[1] The bounds of this Grant are given with great minuteness (see Archæologia, vol. xxxvii., p. 266,) but so many of the names are extinct that it is difficult to follow them. In order to give those who are acquainted with the neighbourhood some notion of the general extent, it may suffice to say that the Manor commencing from the river Avon near Rodbourne, and including Starkeley, ranged by Bincombe in the direction of the Foss: then northward of Malmesbury, nearly as far as Kemble: then S.E. by Chelworth, Eastcourt and Woburn to the skirts of Braden Forest, and so back to the Avon near Dauntesey.

turn to quit. The monks joyfully raised their heads again. This monastery recovered all liberties and lands that had been taken from it, particularly Eastcourt, near Crudwell. In the document, dated 974, by which King Edgar restored that estate, he says, "Considering what offering I should make from my earthly kingdom to the King of Kings, I resolve to rebuild all the holy monasteries throughout my kingdom, which as they are *outwardly* ruinous with mouldering shingles and worm-eaten boards even to the rafters, so, what is still worse, they have been *internally* neglected and almost destitute of the service of God. Wherefore, ejecting these illiterate clerks (the seculars), subject to the discipline of no regular order, in many places I have appointed pastors of a holier race, that is, of the monastic order, supplying them with ample means out of my royal revenues to repair their churches wherever dilapidated. One of these pastors, by name Ælfric, I have appointed guardian (i.e. Abbot) of that most celebrated monastery which the Angles call by the twofold name of Maldelmsburg." This is, I believe, the only instance where the name is so written, and it looks as if the writer derived it from the joint names of Maldulph and Aldhelm.

The old historical notices relating to the actual building of a church or churches attached to Malmesbury Abbey, are very few, and not very distinct. It does not seem altogether clear, whether this Abbot Ælfric added to the monastery a second church, called St. Mary's, or whether he only *re*built a church of St. Mary which Aldhelm had built. William of Malmesbury in one passage of his history[1] (speaking of King Athelstan's reign 924—941) says, "Moreover it may be necessary to observe, that at that time the Church of St. Peter was the chief of the monastery which now (i.e. in the Historian's own time, *c.* 1139) is deemed second only: the church of St. Mary which the monks at present frequent was *built* afterwards in the time of King Edgar, under Abbot Elfric." But from the account given of the matter by the same historian in another of his works[2] it would seem more likely that St. Mary's had already existed, and was only *restored* by Abbot Ælfric.

[1] Chronicle of the Kings of England, Bohn's Antiq. Library, p. 138.

[2] Lib. v., De Pontificibus.

According to various notices scattered through the work alluded to, the earliest church within the precincts of the monastery had been a "very small basilica" in Maldulf's time. This had been enlarged into a more important one by Aldhelm who gave it the title of "The Church of the Holy Saviour and of the Apostles Peter and Paul." But Aldhelm not content with this, made a still larger one, called "St. Mary's," which the Historian says was remaining in his own days (1139) and was in size and beauty the noblest old church in England. The church of the "Holy Saviour, St. Peter, and St. Paul" was nevertheless not only left standing, but was duly considered as the chief church, ("caput loci") down to Abbot Ælfric's time, the reign of King Edgar. Down to that period, gifts of land, &c., were made to the church of the "Holy Saviour, St. Peter and Paul." But from and after King Edgar's reign, St. Mary's, (whether a fresh church, or an old one restored by Abbot Ælfric,) became the "caput loci" or chief church. The present Abbey Church, also called St. Mary's, certainly covers the site and more than the site, of Abbot Ælfric's St. Mary's: but whether any part of that Abbot's actual building is still visible, is very questionable.[1] But that the older one of "St. Saviour, Peter and Paul" still continued to stand, by the side of St. Mary's even to the time of the Dissolution of Monasteries, is very probable; for Leland who visited Malmesbury in 1540, after describing the large Abbey Church, says "there was a little church joining to the south side of the transept of the Abbey Church, in which some said that John the Scot, the preceptor, was slain by his pupils in the time of King Alfred. Weavers have now looms in this little church, but it standeth and is a very old piece of work."

But we must return, to see how the monks were going on in the reign of King Edgar. They were going on very prosperously, for they had just received a further addition to their property, by a grant of the Manor of Charlton, a very nice plaster for the sores lately inflicted. They had however hardly begun to feel the comfort of this soothing application when fresh troubles began, for the

[1] Mr. Britton "could not persuade himself to believe that any material part of the present building was erected before the reign of Henry I." (Arch: Antiq: i.)

wind of royal favour blew from no steady point. Whatever happened to be the humour of the king for the time, so was it either good or bad times for the Monks. Of which kind it was likely to be under the next king, Æthelred the Unready, may be easily anticipated when we are told that his reign was cruel in the beginning, wretched in the middle, and disgraceful in the end. He took a particular dislike to the ceremonies of the religious, and whether or no he had sufficient motive for so doing you shall judge. He had a furious mother, Queen Elfrida, who, when her children were troublesome, had a habit of putting them to death. She had just served one of the olive-branches so, when Æthelred, then only ten years old, began, not unnaturally, to cry for the loss of his brother. Her Majesty, in a towering passion, not happening to have in her hand at the moment the proper instrument of flagellation, caught at the first thing she could lay hold of, which happened to be a pound of candles! How many they were to to the pound, whether they were rushlights, dips, sixes or fours, the chronicle does not specify; but whatever they were, she beat him so nearly to death that he could never bear the sight of a candle afterwards, and would never allow one to be lighted in his presence. Hence his aversion to tapers, and through tapers to monks. It was during Æthelred's reign that the Danes again obtained a footing in England, which they did not relinquish for many years. Two of their chieftains, Sigeferth and Morcar, being seized and put to death at Oxford by Æthelred's order, the wife of Sigeferth, Elgiva, a lady of much beauty, was carried prisoner to Malmesbury. The King's son, Edmund, afterwards called Ironside, hearing of her, took a journey hither, and, without his father's knowledge, made her his wife. Langtoft, the chronicler, in mentioning this, calls the town Malmcestre.

After the death of Edmund Ironside in 1016 there were three Danish Kings of England, and during their reigns, ending 1042, little is met with relating to the monastery. In the neighbourhood there was much fighting: and at a battle at Sherston some local hero of great eminence distinguished himself, whose memory still lives in that village under the name of "Rattlebone," perpetuated

for the ocular gratification of the rustics by a hideous portrait over a public-house.

Edward the Confessor became King in 1042. His family chaplain, one Herman, of a Flemish family was made Bishop of Wiltshire. A vacancy occurring in the Abbey of Malmesbury, Bishop Herman (following the precedent of Ealstan, Bishop of Sherborne[1]) proposed to unite the Abbey of Malmesbury with the Bishoprick. The King consented, but the Monks defeated the scheme. One ancient chronicle says that this Bishop Herman built a Bell Tower to the Abbey Church, about the year 1060.

In the "Archæologia," vol. xxxvii, p. 257, there is a very valuable Article by Mr. J. Y. Akerman, on the "Possessions of the Abbey of Malmesbury, in North Wilts," down to the end of the Anglo-Saxon dynasty. Many of the charters are given, and the land limits mentioned in them are in many cases identified.

William the Conqueror greatly patronised the Monastery. He deposited there many valuable relics brought from Rouen, and also imported three Norman Abbots one after another to rule over it.[2] The Queen Matilda bestowed lands at Garsdon, in return for which gracious act the Monk who tells this history, politely calls her "the mirror of prudence and the pink of modesty." The king also instituted a yearly feast in honour of St. Aldhelm, to last five days, which the Queen increased to eight. This used to draw such

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[1] See Cassan's "Lives of the Bishops of Sherborne and Salisbury," p. 40.

[2] The Rev. Dr. J. Milner in his "Treatise on the Ecclesiastical Architecture of England," p. 44 (note), says; "It appears from Wm. of Malmsbury, that some great and expensive works were carried on at the church of his monastery by its Norman Abbots, particularly by Warinus de Lyra. De Pontif. L. v." And again at p. 79 (note); "There is good reason to judge from William of Malmsbury's account of his own monastery in particular, that the intersecting arches still seen there were made by Abbot Warin de Lira, a Norman, in 1080." The only passage in Wm. of Malmesbury's works that the present writer has hitherto been able to find, relating to any building by Abbot Warin de Lirâ, amounts to this. That the Norman Abbot took offence at the bones of some of his predecessors being kept in two stone vases on each side of the Altar of St. Mary's, and turning them out as so much common rubbish, buried them in the farthest corner of the chapel of St. Michael, *which chapel* he widened and raised. No allusion has been met with, to any "great and expensive works" carried on by Abbot Warin in the principal church.

crowds from all the country round about, that a band of men used to be kept by the town to preserve order. The feast was in operation in Leland's time, 1540, but ceased to be observed soon afterwards.

Domesday Book shows that at the time of the Conquest the town belonged to the king; the Abbot had very little in it, except the precincts of the Monastery.

The reign of William Rufus is a blank in Malmesbury history; but not so that of Henry I. For now we come to the times of the celebrated Roger Poor, Bishop of Old Sarum, whose behaviour to this Monastery caused his name to be remembered here with bitterness. He was the prime favourite of Henry I., an all-powerful dispenser of honour, but not over scrupulous, for if he could not get what he wanted for love or money, he took it by force.[1] The times being menacing, he built large castles. At Malmesbury, he had begun one, says the chronicle, "*in the very churchyard*, not a stone's throw from the church:" that is, from St. Mary's, restored by Ælfric. So that at this time, there were in the cemetery—1st, the old Church (St. Saviour's, Peter and Paul), 2nd, Ælfric's Church, 3rd, Bishop Roger's Castle. Bishop Roger also fortified the town with walls and gates, of which there were four. With the monks he dealt thus. He wanted their revenues: so he took them. That which it is pleasant to take, it is pleasant to keep: so he kept them; and for 20 years. Some who have written about the history of the present Abbey Church are of opinion that this Bishop Roger built it. If he did so, it is strange that the fact should not have been distinctly mentioned by William of Malmesbury. Bishop Roger died in 1139: William of Malmesbury four years afterwards, in 1143. Having been alive during the Bishop's time, and having known him, as he says, well: having also been a monk of this very Monastery, resident many years, he must have known all that was done, and if he saw a castle built and names it, it might have been expected that he would have emphatically recorded so grand a work as the Church. Not only however is he obscure as to any share that

[1] Bishop Roger asserted his claim to Malmesbury Abbacy, on the ground that his predecessor Bishop Herman had held it.

the Bishop had in it, but in the passages I quoted before, Wm. of Malmesbury says that the church which the monks frequented in his time was at all events as old as the time of Ælfric, 90 years before the Conquest, if not much older.

King Henry I. had an only son, who was drowned. He wished to secure the crown to his daughter, the Countess of Anjou, afterwards called the Empress Maud, or the Empress. Roger, Bishop of Sarum had sworn to be faithful to her; but afterwards, declaring that the conditions on which he had sworn were not observed, he endeavoured to place Stephen on the throne. Stephen, thinking him a dangerous man, shut him up in prison where he died; and took possession of all his castles, among the rest, that of Malmesbury.

Then began the war between Stephen and the Countess of Anjou, in 1139; Stephen holding Malmesbury. In October of that year, one Fitz-Hubert, a cruel and blasphemous partizan on the side of the Countess, clandestinely entered Malmesbury Castle, and burned the houses of the town. Stephen returned and got possession again, restoring the monks (1140). Fitz-Hubert then seized Devizes Castle, and vowed that before he had done he would burn every monastery and monk in Wiltshire; but luckily for the monasteries and monks of Wiltshire, he was taken and hanged at Marlborough.

The country all round was overrun by troops of both sides. On the Countess's side were two men of notoriety, Milo, Earl of Gloucester, and William of Dover. William of Dover took possession of Cricklade and built a castle there, which was probably Castle Eaton, near Cricklade. The burgesses of Malmesbury, shut up in the town, suffered great inconvenience. They could not even get out to look after their cattle on the King's Heath, for the Earl of Gloucester ran up three forts near the town and determined to starve them all. Where these forts stood, is not quite certain, but there are remains of something of this kind, in a field called Castle Field, and also on Camp Hill, near Burton Hill. The Earl was driven off and went to Tetbury. His party however returned, attacked Malmesbury once more, and took the governor, Walter de

Pinkney, prisoner. But Stephen himself coming to the rescue of the town, once more got it back into his own hands. The chronicle of these events, in the first year of that war, suddenly stops short, and so must we.

After some years the lady who was contending for the Throne, won it, but not giving satisfaction was obliged to fly the kingdom; and in 1152 her son Henry of Anjou arrived to try his fortune in claiming the Crown. He landed in the middle of winter, and the very first place to which he turned his attention was Malmesbury Castle, of which the governor under Stephen was one Jordan. On the eve of the Epiphany Henry attacked the town, and took all except the keep of the Castle, afterwards called Jordan's tower. This he tried to starve out, but did not succeed: and in the meanwhile King Stephen, hearing of the danger, returns and pitches his camp near Malmesbury.

So here we have the two rivals face to face, and next day is to settle the crown of England. These circumstances justify what was said at the beginning of this paper, that your town of Malmesbury has, in its day, taken its part in the important events that have happened in this country. Next morning both parties drew out their strength in battle array: on both sides a great display of knights and noble chiefs (says the history), with banners glittering with gold. But it so happened that they could not get at one another, for the river between them was so deeply flooded that nobody dared to ford it. A tempest of rain also blew in the face of Stephen's men, and it was so bitterly cold that they could hardly hold their spears. Under these difficulties, the weather, which interrupts so many pleasant parties, not appearing likely to increase the comforts of this, they, very wisely, agreed to put it off to a better day. In the meantime, some angel of peace whispered to these men's consciences the folly and the wickedness of their doings, for it is stated by one authority that here, under the very walls of Malmesbury, the two rivals came to a compromise about the succession to the crown.

The fighting among the men of war was hardly over when the men of peace in the Abbey were once more drawn into an old and

very vital quarrel: whether the Bishop of Sarum was, or was not, *of right* Abbot of Malmesbury. This was in 1190, and the Bishop (being the fourth who had put forward this claim) was Hubert Walter. King Richard I. had gone to the Crusades and had left Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, Chancellor and Governor of England. The revival of the claim is thus quaintly described in an ancient Latin chronicle by Richard of Devizes.[1] "The King of darkness that ancient firebrand between the church of Sarum and the monastery of Malmesbury, applying fresh fuel, kindled an old fire into a new blaze. The Abbot was summoned, not upon the question of making his profession to the Bishop but upon that of laying aside altogether his name and the staff of a pastor." [This would imply that the Bishop of Sarum claimed the Abbey altogether.] "The King's letter to the chancellor was produced, ordering the Abbot to answer in law to the demands of the Bishop of Sarum. But the Abbot" (Robert de Melun) "whose fortune was at stake, was one whom no danger found unprepared, and who was not a man to lose any thing by cowardice. He gave blow for blow: and got other letters from the King counteracting the former ones. The Chancellor perceiving the shameful contradiction in the King's mandates, in order that the King's character might not suffer if any further steps should be taken, put the whole case off until the King's return." This claim on the part of the Bishops of Sarum seems always to have broken down: and the reason probably was that they never succeeded in obtaining the sanction of the Pope.

King Richard settled the rents of the Town of Malmesbury in dower upon his Queen Berengaria: and when King John came to the throne (1199) he also did the same for his Queen Isabella.

King John befriended the monks. He transferred the crown-interest in the borough and in the hundreds of Chedgelow and Sterkeley (now merged in the hundred of Malmesbury) to the Monastery, on their paying to the crown every year a fee farm rent of £20, which he ordered them to pay to his son, the Earl of Cornwall.

In 1215 (17 John) the castle, being no longer wanted, was pulled

[1] Chronicon Ricardi Divisiensis, sect. 17.

down. The monks obtained leave to raze it to the ground, in order to enlarge the monastery. The Abbey buildings seem to have extended as far as the West Port or Gate, for a document of this reign mentions, among gifts to the monks, the rent of certain houses "outside the west gate, adjoining the walls of the Abbey."[1] There were also at this time many gifts of land by individuals to maintain wax-lights and lamps before St. Mary's Altar "in the larger Church of Malmesbury." The expression of "the larger church" implies (what has been stated above) that the older and smaller one (already mentioned), was still standing in the churchyard.

In Mr. Akerman's Paper (above referred to) printed in "Archæologia," xxxvii., p. 273, is a curious document of A.D. 1318, (reign of Edward II.,) which gives a list of all the tenants' names in the different manors then belonging to the Abbey. The names are so many, and the payments so small, that it is clear the agricultural holdings were in some parishes more numerous than they are now. In the parish of Charlton, there were, paying rent, 47 persons; at Cowfold, now Colepark, 26; at Norton, 25; at Newnton, 37; at Brokenborough, 28.

In the reign of Edward III. the Abbot was named to be one of the 25 Abbots to sit in Parliament. But he did not receive the episcopal ornaments and authority until Richard II. The windows in the upper story of the church were added in Edward the Third's time.

For the next 200 years nothing is told us about Malmesbury Abbey; but a great deal at the end of those 200 years, in the reign of King Henry VIII., when it was dissolved. It was surrendered by Abbot Frampton, alias Selwyn, on the 15th December, 1539. The whole property was seized by the Crown and sold. The Abbot and monks, about 20 in number, were pensioned for life. The

[1] "De domibus illis quas construere fecimus extra portam Occidentalem, quæ connexæ sunt muro abbatiæ nostræ." Ossebarn, Gustenestable, Loggeputte-street, Phelippes-lane are among the names of localities occurring in these documents. The abbey had rents in "Bynport and Westport" (Val. Eccl: 119). St. Paul's Church is called in Sarum Registers A.D. 1394, "St. Paul's de Bynport in Malmsbury." Bynport is a name also found at Shaftesbury.

property included almost every parish round the town, Charlton, Hankerton, Brokenborough, Newnton, Norton, Corston, Rodbourne, Cole-park, Brinkworth, Lee and Cleverton, Garsdon and Whitchurch, besides a great deal beyond and elsewhere. The value was returned at £803 a year in the money of those days. This would equal several thousands of our money; but the returns then made of the value of Abbey lands were notoriously under the mark, being made by the stewards, who wished to be, and became, the principal purchasers.

One or two points about the finances of the monks may not be uninteresting. Their rents and tithes, &c., were not all received under one general head, but were classified, belonging to different departments, each of which had its receiver and other officers. Some lands provided the income of the Abbot himself, who had his own receiver. Other lands were charged with the special maintenance either of the monks, or the sacristan, the almoner, the infirmary, or the pitancer.

The pitancer, by the way, was an officer whose duties were delicate, and must have made him now and then rather unpopular, for it was his business to settle the allowances of eatables and drinkables. The word, which should be spelt with a single t, is derived from an old French one, *pite*, a very small coin. The distribution of good things on certain days, according to the rules, may not have been always quite so generous as appetite anticipated, and if, instead of a broad slice, the cover being lifted up disclosed only an invisible bit, disappointment may have bestowed upon it the nickname of a *pitance*, or farthing's worth.

The Monastery kitchen had lands of its own. These lay chiefly at Brinkworth, Thornhill, Cowbridge and Millbridge, and Wynyard's Mill.

Besides all these receivers and stewards who had to be paid, there were certain laymen who had salaried offices connected with the Monastery. Sir Henry Long of Draycote, by some old custom, was entitled to receive from the monks seven white loaves and seven flagons of beer every week; of course, compounded for, in money. He was hereditary bailiff of Charlton Wood. Sir Edward Baynton

of Bromham was the chief seneschal or steward; Sir Thomas Arundell head receiver. The Abbey was also charged with pensions called "corodies," which the Crown had a right to fix upon it. All these various charges amounted to about a tenth part of the revenue of the monks.

In the case of many of the dissolved Monasteries it was not enough to have driven away the birds: they must needs destroy the beautiful nests. But with respect to Malmesbury Abbey, it is only fair to say that though the Monastery may have been soon demolished, the Abbey Church had already suffered great injury, and not by the hand of man. Leland was here in 1540, a year after the Dissolution. This eye-witness tells us that the high spire that once stood at the cross of the transept had fallen down *within the memory of man*, and had not been rebuilt. The phrase "within the memory of man," implies so far back that one can't exactly say what year, but only that there are some old folks in the parish who do mind it. It must therefore have been many years before the Dissolution that the central spire had fallen. By its fall the Eastern part also of the Church was probably so much injured as to become useless: and may accordingly have been taken down. If this were the case, then the reproach of *wilful* destruction no longer rests with the purchaser of the Abbey Church. And that this is the true account of the matter seems likely: for in the License granted by Archbishop Cranmer (20th August, 1541,) to convert the Nave into a Parish-church, there is no allusion to any other part as being then in existence. In the central steeple had been 10 bells; one a remarkably fine one, called St. Aldhelm's, which they used to ring sometimes during storms in order to scare away the thunder and lighting. An anonymous Tourist who visited Malmesbury in 1634, and whose "Topographical Excursion" is printed in "Brayley's Graphic and Historical Illustrator," p. 411, says that at that time, the central tower was "much decayed and ruinated; and the Angle there cleane decayed." In the wretched plate of the Abbey Church given in the old edition of Dugdale's Monasticon, the four arches of the central tower appear to have been still standing about 1660. John Aubrey mentions that at the rejoicings for King

Charles II$^{d's}$ return, 29 May 1660, the noise of artillery so shook the old building, that "a pillar of the Tower and the parts above it fell down the same night."

Besides the central "*pyramis*," there was a large square Tower at the west end of the church. This was standing in 1540 and was seen by Leland. By the fall of this tower much of the west end of the church was destroyed. The exact time and cause of the accident are not known, but according to the description of the Tourist in 1634, (just mentioned), it had so completely disappeared that he seems not to have been aware of its having ever existed. The "two towers" he speaks of were probably the two turrets at the corners of the west front. He has preserved a minute account of the sculptures on the fine arch of the Southern Porch. His account being interesting and valuable, it is given at full length below.[1]

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As to the Monastery itself, it seems to have stood chiefly on the

[1] "So on I posted into a new Shire, through a little nooke of her, & by that time it was night, I got into that ancient, sometimes famous & flourishing City [Malmesberry]; but ffortune long since turn'd her face from her, so as now there is little left, but the ruines of a rare demolish'd Church, and of a large fayre & rich Monastery. So much as is standing of this old Abbey Church promiseth no lesse (for it rep^{s}ents a Cathedrall) to have been of that largenes, strength & extent, as most in ye kingdome.

"Her old strong Basis is answerable to her Coat. The two great Towers at her West comming in, are quite demolish'd, & her great High Tower, at the upper end of the high Altar much decay'd & ruinated: The Angle there cleane decayd. At the West Doore, wch was her entrance, are curiously cut in freestone, the severall postures of the Moneths. At the South side of this ancient ffabricke, at the entrance of a fayre Porch, there is curiously cutt, and carv'd in ffreestone in 3 ovall Arches, Statues rep^{s}enting the Creation, the Deluge, & the Nativity, wch in their artificiall Postures, I may compare to Wells, though not in number soe many, nor in bignes so great. And wthin the same Porch on either side, are equally plac'd the 12 Apostles, & right ouer the Doore entring into the Church, is Christ in his Throne between 2 Cherubims, wch are most artificially cut, and carv'd.

On the first Arch.—1. Defac'd quite. 2. Light from Chaos. 3. The Sea from the Land. 4. The Lord sitts & beholds. 5. Hee makes ffowles. 6. Hee makes ffish. 7. Hee makes the Beasts. 8. The Spirit moving upon ye Water. 9. Adam made. 10. Adam sleeps, & Woman made. 11. Paradice. 12. Adam left there. 13. Divell tempts Eve. 14. They hide themselves. 15. God calls to them. 16. God thrusts them out. 17. A Spade & Distaffe given. 18. Adam digs, Eve spins. 19. Eve brings forth Cain. 20. Abell tills ye Earth. 21, 22,

north and north-west of the Abbey Church. It is continually stated in books that the buildings spread over 45 acres of ground; and even Mr. Moffat in his history considers this credible. But it is a great and extravagant mistake. It is distinctly mentioned in the *Valor Eccles:* that the building spread over *six* acres; but that the grounds (including orchards, a large pasture called the Convent or Covent garden, a coniger or rabbit warren, &c.), were 40 acres more. The water by which it was supplied is said to have

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two Angells for keepers. 23. Abell walks in ye ffeild. 24. Cain meets him. 25. Cain kills Abell. 26, 27, 28. Demolish'd quite.

On the second Arch.—1, 2. God sitts and beholds the Sins of the World. 3. Cain is a fugitive. 4. He comes to Eve. 5. An Angell. 6. God delivers Noah ye Axe. 7. Noah workes in the Arke. 8. Eight Persons saved. 9. Abraham offers Isaac. 10. The Lamb caught in ye Bush. 11. Moses talkes wth his father. 12. Moses keeping Sheep. 13. Moses & Aron strikes ye Rocke. 14. Moses reads ye Law to ye Elders. 15. Sampson tearing the Lion. 16. Sampson bearing ye City Gates. 17. The Philistins puts out his eyes. 18. David rescues the Lamb. 19. David fights wth Goliah. 20. Goliah slaine. 21. An Angell. 22. David rests himself. 23. Defac'd quite. 24. David walks to Bethoron. 25. Davids entertainm^t^ there. 26, 27. Demolish'd quite.

On the third Arch.—1, 2. Defac'd quite. 3. John ye forunner of Christ. 4. Michaell the Archangell. 5. The Angells comes to Mary. 6. Mary in Childbed. 7. The 3 Wisemen comes to Christ. 8. They find him. 9. Joseph, Mary & Christ goes into Egypt. 10. Christ curses ye ffig-tree. 11. Hee rides on an Asse to Jerusalem. 12. Hee eats the Passover with his twelve Apostles. 13. Hee is nayl'd to the Crosse. 14. Laid in the Tombe by Joseph. 15. Hee riseth againe. 16. He ascendeth into Heaven. 17. The Holy Ghost descending on the Apostles. 18. Michaell ouerthrows ye Devil. 19. Mary mourning for Jesus. 20, 21, 22, 23. Demolish'd quite.

Within this Ancient Church are some Monuments.

On the South side of the High Altar, under a very ancient Tombe of ffree-stone, lyeth K. Athelstan, a royall Benefactor, & rich endower of that famous Monastery: Hee gave order his body should be there interr'd & to rest, for the good successe he receiv'd from that Towne, ag^st^ the Danes: and for the sake of holy St. Adelm the Hermit, who was Maidulphs Scholler.

Another Monum^t^ there is of Sr George Marshalls Lady, Daughter of Sr Owen Hopton, sometimes a Lieutenant of the Tower of London.

"The present sad ruins of that large spacious, strong and famous Abbey, on the North side of the Church, did manifest what her beauty was in her flourishing time.

"After I had weary'd myselfe in beholding these sad and lamentable Ruines, and dismall Downfalls, I a little observ'd the Scytuation of that small handsome, vnconquer'd Mayden Towne, & found it strongly seated on a Hill, and invironed wth diverse small but sweet Rivoletts."

been fetched all the way from a fine spring at Newnton, by underground pipes.

Dante says of a desecrated monastery in his own country:—

> "Rich were the returns
> And fertile, which that cloister once was us'd
> To render to those Heavens; now, t'is fall'n
> Into an empty waste. . . . .
> The walls for Abbey reared, turned into dens:
> The cowls, to sacks choked up with musty meal."
>
> Paradise xxi. and xxii.

The cloisters of Malmesbury were in like manner turned into an empty waste, and the Abbey into dens for weavers' looms.

The library was not quite dispersed in Leland's time, for he has left us a list of some of the manuscripts; chiefly, as might be supposed, the works of old theologians and schoolmen. The rest had probably been scattered. There was at the breaking up of the monasteries a very unnecessary and barbarous destruction of many things that were curious, and would now have been extremely valuable. Particularly was this the case at Malmesbury. Volumes beautifully illuminated were sold by weight at the Monastery gates, as so much waste paper, and were used for all sorts of purposes, for covering books, wrapping up goods, stopping ale barrels, scouring guns, and the like. The glovers of Malmesbury in particular made great havoc of them. Manuscripts of this sort are at this moment fetching at sales in London £100 and £200 a piece.

The tourist, who visited the town in 1634, saw some portions of the Monastery still standing on the N. side of the church; and about 1650 John Aubrey mentions the remains of the kitchen, on four strong freestone pillars, standing N.W.

The house now called the Abbey House, standing N.E. of the church, (excepting the lowest floor, which is much older,) was built in Edward VI. or Elizabeth's time, after the Dissolution, perhaps by Sir James Stumpe, (son of the purchaser of the Abbey,) his arms and those of his wife, a Baynton, being on an arch over a door. In one of the upper rooms is the shield of arms of the Ivye family, of Hullavington and West Kington, who were afterwards its owners.

It is very much to be regretted that there is no known drawing, ground plan, or even verbal description of what the Abbey and Abbey Church were, when perfect.[1] For many hundred years was that noble church filled with chapels, shrines, altars, stained glass, sepulchres of kings and saints, and yet we have not a trace of its contents, save one solitary relic, the so-called tomb of King Athelstan. Athelstan died in 941. It is needless to say that this tomb was not erected at that time, or for a long time after. Nor after so many changes is it now easy to guess where exactly is the site of his grave. It was (see p. 42) "at the altar of St. Mary in the tower" wheresoever that may have been. His remains may have been removed hither, or, without meddling with them, the tomb may have been erected to his memory as a testimonial or cenotaph. It was most likely in its present situation at the time of Leland's visit

[1] The dimensions of the church when entire may perhaps be fairly collected from William of Worcester who visited it in the reign of Henry VI. In measuring, he used his own steps ("gressus meos"). The Editors of the New Monasticon state that the "step" of Wm. of Worcester was 19½ inches: (Dugdale, New Monasticon, "Malmesbury," p. 256, Note). According to this scale the dimensions of the church were as follows.

"Length of the whole church, with the choir: 172 "*gressus*"=279 feet.

"Length of the Chapel of St. Mary, at the East (of the choir), 36 "*gressus*"= 57 feet.

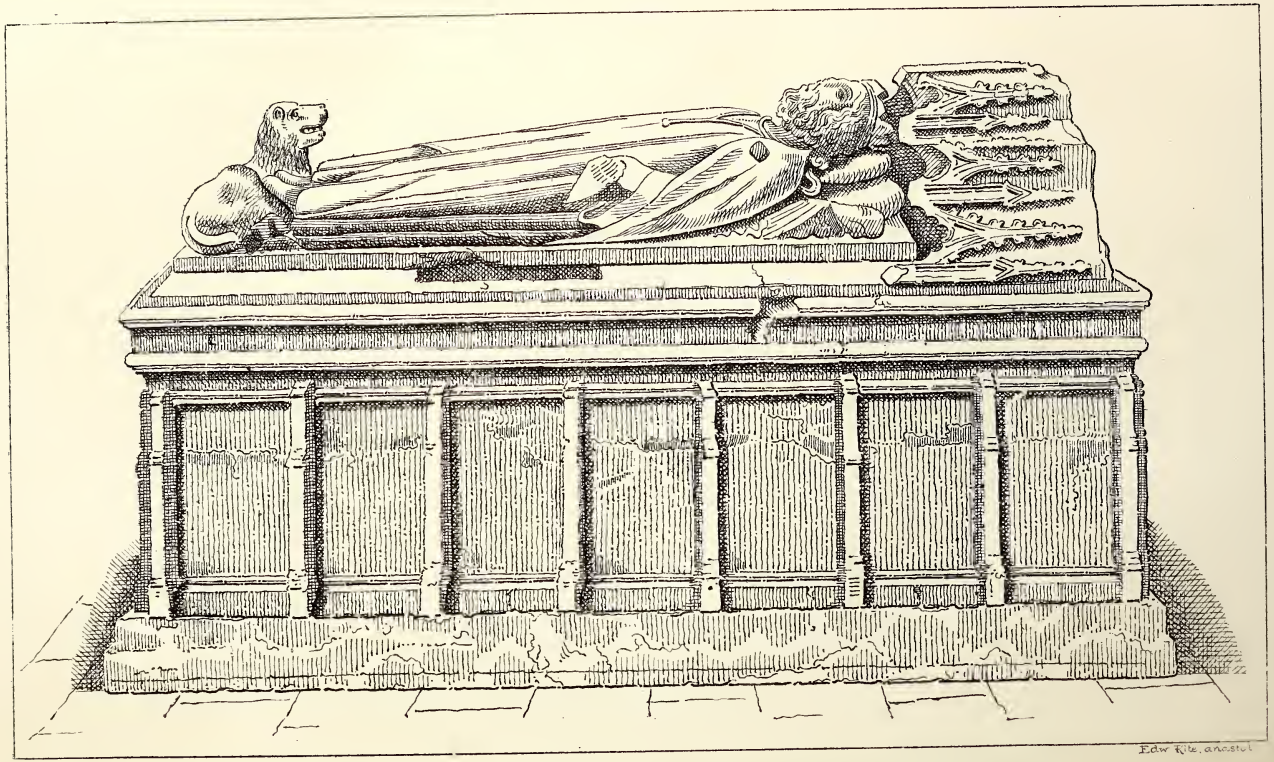
"Breadth of the same, 9 "*gressus*"=14 feet 7½ inches.

"Projection of the transepts, beyond the Aisles *(ultra alas)*, 22 "*gressus*"= 35 feet 9 inches."

The late Mr. Britton (Archit: Antiq:, vol. i., Y. 10) professed himself unable to draw any conclusions from William of Worcester's "steps:" but he was probably not aware of their equivalent in feet and inches. Mr. Britton also pronounced the proportions of St. Mary's Chapel to be "unusual and awkward." But it is not improbable that St. Mary's Chapel may have been part of Abbot Ælfric's Church, perhaps that church itself, and, there are in Wiltshire, still existing, one or two ancient churches remarkable for being very long and narrow, as for instance, Wily Church, which is 76 feet long and 17½ feet wide, St. Joseph's Chapel also at Glastonbury Abbey, was 110 feet long by 24 wide. So far as the writer of the present Article has been able to judge, his opinion of Wm. of Worcester's accuracy is favourable. For, by actual measurement of the projection (beyond the Aisles) of the South Transept of Malmesbury Abbey Church, its length appears to be as nearly as possible the same as described by that Antiquary. Therefore, if nearly correct in the only part of the church to which it is now possible to apply a test, Wm. of Worcester's statement becomes trustworthy as to those parts which are imperfect.

THE TOMB CALLED "KING ATHELSTAN'S" IN MALMESBURY ABBEY CHURCH

PLATE I.



THE TOMB CALLED "KING ATHELSTAN'S" IN MALMESBURY ABBEY CHURCH.

in 1540, but he does not notice it. It was seen, where it now is, by the Tourist in 1634, above mentioned. Antony Wood, the Oxford Antiquary, visited the church in 1678. He says that "Athelstan's monument had the head knocked off in the wars in Charles the First's time, and that the inhabitants had put on a new one with a bushy beard, but whether like the former I cannot tell." He supposes the monument to have formerly stood in the choir, and to have been removed to its present place at the Dissolution. Mr. Britton was rather of opinion that it did not refer to Athelstan at all; but the tradition of 200 years is against him.

It had been well for Malmesbury if the knocking off King Athelstan's head had been all the mischief done by the wars in Charles the First's time. About this a few words must be said, or the promised outline of your public history will be imperfect.

It was mentioned a little while ago that the castle built by Roger, Bishop of Sarum, had been razed to the ground in King John's reign. But either some portion of it must have been left, or some other built near it, because there certainly was some stronghold fit to receive a garrison of soldiers in Charles the First's wars. Malmesbury then became a place of some consequence, because it stood upon the main line of communication between Bristol and Oxford. I will not weary you with details, but simply state that it was taken and retaken seven times between the summer of 1642 and May 1644.

During one of those contests the old church of Westport was destroyed. Of this, John Aubrey, who was living at the time, gives us the account. "Westport," he says, "is the parish outside the west gate; which west gate, now demolished, stood on the neck of land that joins Malmesbury and Westport. Before the late wars here was a very pretty church, consisting of a nave and aisles, dedicated to St. Mary, and a fair spire-steeple, with five tuneable bells. Sir Wm. Waller, for the Parliament, pulled the church down, that it might not be a shelter for the enemy, and melted the bells down into cannon. The steeple was higher than that of St. Paul's, Malmesbury. The windows were well painted, and in them were inscriptions that declared much antiquity. Now," says

he, "here is rebuilt a church like a stable." The days that followed Charles I. were certainly not favourable to ornamental church-restoration. Nor to ancient religious usages. The parish registers show that during the Commonwealth banns of marriage were published, not in the church, but at the market cross, and the parties were married, not by a clergyman, but by the deputy alderman of the borough, and sometimes by neighbouring magistrates. Such novelties are not intolerable: but another proceeding was. In order to shew the high respect they entertained for all crowned heads in general and the great Benefactor of the town in particular, in September 1657, the body of "John Buckle, reputed to be a gypsie, deceased at John Perin's house upon the Fosse," was brought to the Abbey church, and buried in King Athelstan's chapel. "Howbeit," says the Register, "(by means of Mr. Thomas Ivye, Esquier, and by the desyres and endeavours of others) he was taken up again out of the said chappell, and removed into the church-yarde." Perhaps some "commoner" crossing the "King's Heath" at night-time, had seen a dark figure in a scarlet cloak, a diamond belt, and a Saxon sword, with a golden crown on his head, come to take back his 500 acres!

HISTORICAL NOTICES, (CHIEFLY FROM WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY,) OF CHURCH-BUILDING AT MALMESBURY ABBEY.

A.D.

677. Maildulf began the Monastery. At first there was a small "*basilica.*"

Aldhelm enlarged this into a more noble church, ("*augustiorem ecclesiam*") dedicated to "The Holy Saviour and the Apostles Peter and Paul." This was the church used by the Monks, and it was regarded by them as the principal one, the "*Caput Loci.*" (Wm. of Malmesbury, Lib. v. De Pontif. Gale's Script., II., 343.)

Aldhelm builds within the precincts of the Monastery

A.D.

another church dedicated to St. Mary; but that of the "Holy Saviour, Peter and Paul," continued to be the "Caput loci." Aldhelm also built, contiguous to St. Mary's a smaller church or chapel in honour of St. Michael. Of this chapel of St. Michael, William of Malmesbury who died about A.D. 1143 says that some traces only were visible in his time: but that the spacious structure of the larger church (St. Mary's) lasted down to his own time, "in all its glory and uncontaminated by alteration:" ["celebris et illibata, nostro quoque perstitit ævo"]: and that in size and beauty it exceeded any of the ancient religious edifices of England. (Gale, II., 349.) The Historian tells a wonderful story of a certain beam which at the building of St. Mary's by Aldhelm had been miraculously lengthened, and afterwards was alone preserved through two fires that destroyed the whole Monastery in the reigns of Alfred and Edward. (Gale, II., 350.) According to this, the roof at any rate of the Church of St. Mary's must have been twice destroyed between the time of Aldhelm and that of the Historian: but the body of the church must have escaped injury, unless the Historian is very inconsistent with himself, for he had stated (above) that Aldhelm's Church of St. Mary was standing "unaltered" in his time.

709. Aldhelm dies and is buried in St. Michael's Chapel. The Monks, in order to be closer to the place of his interment, remove their services from the Church of the Holy Saviour, Peter and Paul, to St. Mary's Church: but nevertheless the Church of the Holy Saviour, continued even long after this time, to be regarded as the "Caput loci:" as is proved in a grant from King Alfred A.D. 892. (Gale, II., 358.)

823-858. Ethelwulf, King of Wessex (who resigned his crown and became a monk) made a silver shrine to contain

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the bones of Aldhelm. On the outside were carved his miracles in bas-relief (*"levato metallo"*). Afterwards he added a lid of crystal, with Aldhelm's name in letters of gold. (Ditto, p. 359).

924-41. King Athelstan's nephews, Elwin and Ethelwin, are buried right and left of the Altar of St. Mary's Church. (Gale, II., 362.)

Athelstan builds the monastery from the foundation ("cœnobium a fundamento fecit") and brings hither the relics of St. Samson. (Ditto, p. 364.)

941. Athelstan is buried, "sub altari Sanctæ Mariæ in turri" (under the Altar of St. Mary, in the tower): "wherefore they are in the wrong who say that Abbot Ælfric built that tower, for he was not made Abbot until more than 30 years after Athelstan's death." (Ditto, p. 363.) In another of his works (De Gestis Reg:) William of Malmesbury says that Athelstan was "interred at the head of the sepulchre of St. Aldhelm." (W. of M., Bohn's Antiq: Library, p. 137.)

955. Edwin, King. St. Dunstan removes the silver shrine containing Aldhelm's bones from St. Michael's Chapel, and places it in St. Mary's. (Gale, II., 365.)

959-75. Edgar, King. He restores a certain manor, (Estcote) to the monks, under the title of the "Church of St. Saviour, *Mary*, Peter and Paul." He gives money for the restoration of decayed monasteries: and appoints Ælfric Abbot of Malmesbury. (p. 365.)

977-82. Abbot Ælfric rebuilds all the *offices* of the monks (*"omnes monachorum officinas"*): and transfers the dignity of principal church (*"caput loci"*) from the Church of "The Saviour, Peter and Paul" to that of St. Mary. (Gale, II., 366.) But nothing is said in this Treatise "De Pontif." by Wm. of Malmesbury, about Ælfric's having built a new *church*. Only the "offices" of the monastery are mentioned.

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St. Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, out of love for Aldhelm and for the sake of his own family connexion with Wessex, gives to the Church a large *Organ* with metal pipes, having a brass plate with an inscription in verse upon it. In order to comply with the rules of verse, St. Dunstan is obliged to assume poetic license and to spell the Saint's name (being the last word in the line) *Ad*elmo, instead of *Ald*helmo. (p. 366.)

St. Dunstan also, for fear of the Danes, takes the bones of St. Aldhelm out of their silver shrine and hides them in a stone tomb on the right of the Altar. (p. 367.)

978-1016. Ethelred, King. A party of Danes breaks into the church. One of them going to knock off the precious stones from Aldhelm's shrine, falls back on the floor as if shot. The rest run away: and though all other churches are despoiled, that of Malmesbury escapes. (p. 366-7.)

1016-42. Constantine, a refugee Archbishop residing in the monastery, devotes much of his time to making and planting a Vineyard for the monks. He is buried in the church of St. *Andrew*. (p. 370.)

1059. Abbot Brithwald is buried among his predecessors in the church of St. *Andrew*, contiguous to the large church; but his habits not having been altogether so correct as they ought to have been, the ghosts of his predecessors disturb the place; so, his body is taken up and thrown into a marsh. (p. 368.)

No mention of this church of St. *Andrew* having been elsewhere met with, it is possible that William of Malmesbury writing from memory may have said St. Andrew's by mistake for St. Michael's, the chapel in which several of the Abbots had been buried.

Elflida, healed by a miracle, dies and is buried in the cloister. (p. 369.)

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The Bones of St. Audoen of Rochester were brought to the church. (p. 371.)

1042-66. Edward the Confessor. During this reign the second fire took place which destroyed the monastery. [The *roof* of the church must have been burnt; as observed p. 41.]

In 1060, Herman, Bishop of Wiltshire, builds a campanile or bell-tower. "Hermannus, capellanus Regis Edwardi, post episcopus Wilton: campanile Maildulphesbir: suis sumptibus construxit." [From an ancient chronicle seen by Leland in Malmesbury Abbey, author unknown. Leland, Collect., I., p. 301.]

1071-81. Warin de Lirâ, a Norman, Abbot of Malmesbury. Having little reverence for Maildulph and other Saxon worthies his predecessors, and being more especially "nauseated" by their bones being kept on each side of the Altar in two hollow vessels of stone, wherein the relics were separated from each other by wooden partitions, this Norman dignitary orders them all to be ejected. They are tumbled together like so much rubbish ("conglobata velut acervum ruderum") and carelessly thrown into a hole in the farthest corner of *St. Michael's Chapel,* which he *had caused to be widened and enlarged.* The bones also of Johannes Scotus the learned divine, whose memory had been cherished at the monastery with a veneration almost equal to that paid to Aldhelm himself, shared the same fate. (Gale, II., p. 372. See above p. 27, Note.)

The same Abbot Warin by a courteous recognition of the great Aldhelm makes (in the Historian's opinion) a partial atonement for his irreverent conduct to the other Saxon Saints and Abbots. Together with Serlo, Abbot of Gloucester, and Osmund, Bishop of Sarum, he once more translates Aldhelm's relics out of the stone tomb (above-mentioned), and replaces them in the silver shrine. (p. 372.)

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A crypt of recent work ("novi operis.") (p. 381.)

c. 1130. Roger, Bishop of Sarum; the all-powerful favourite, temp. Henry I. Finding a precedent in certain proceedings of his predecessors, Bishops of Sarum, he seized the possessions of Malmesbury Abbey. "*His own Cathedral* (at Old Sarum) he dignified to the utmost with matchless ornaments and buildings on which no expense was spared." (Wm. of Malmes., De Gestis Reg., Bohn's Antiq. Libr., p. 508.) He built several castles, as at Sherborne and Devizes. "At Malmesbury, *even in the church-yard,* and scarcely a stone's throw from the principal church, he had begun a *castle.*" (Ditto, p. 498.) "He was a Prelate of great mind, and spared no expense towards completing his designs, especially in buildings, which may be seen at other places but more especially at (Old) Sarum and Malmesbury. For there he erected extensive *edifices* at vast cost and with surpassing beauty, the courses of stone being so correctly laid that the joint deceives the eye and leads it to imagine that the whole wall is composed of a single block." (Ditto, p. 442.) See above p. 28.

William of Malmesbury makes no mention of Bishop Roger having rebuilt the *church,* but in another passage of his works, he states that the principal church standing in his (the Historian's) time was that which had been built in the time of Abbot Ælfric, A.D. 977-982. Speaking of a gift made by King Athelstan (924-941) to the monastic church of St. Peter, (i.e. the church of "The Saviour, Peter and Paul,") he says, "Moreover it may be necessary to observe, that at that time the Church of St. Peter was the chief of the monastery, which is now deemed second only: the church of St. Mary, which the monks now frequent, was built afterwards in the time of

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King Edgar under Abbot Ælfric." (W. of Malmes., Bohn's Antiq. Libr., p. 139.) ["Præterea datur animadvertendum quod tunc basilica sancti Petri primaria in cœnobio fuerit, quæ nunc in secundis habetur: Ecclesia Beatæ Mariæ, quam monachi modo frequentant, postea diebus Edgari sub Abbate Elfrico *ædificata.*"]

Here the worthy Monk on whom we principally lean for authentic particulars to elucidate the ancient architectural operations of his Monastery, seems, like greater men before and after him, to have been nodding. For, if we rightly understood his medieval Latinity, has he not just told us (above p. 41) that *Aldhelm's* Church of St. Mary, "in all its glory, and uncontaminated by alteration, lasted down to his own time?" Also (p. 42 at foot) that Abbot Ælfric transferred the dignity of "principal church" *(caput loci)* from the older church of "The Saviour, Peter and Paul," to *Aldhelm's St. Mary's*; and that Ælfric's building was limited to erecting the *offices* of the monastery? But in the passage quoted at the top of the present page he speaks of the church which existed down to his own time as having been *built* by Ælfric. These noddings of historians are mighty inconvenient to those who in later days desire to get at the fact and the truth. It remains therefore only to suppose either (what is likely enough) that the Historian himself had no very *certain* account of the matter and gave merely the traditions of his House: or that, if he had such certain information, he forgot himself upon this occasion, when speaking of the church of his own day as having been *built* by Ælfric; and confused with the act of building, Ælfric's act of transferring the "principal dignity" to the church really built by Aldhelm.

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1170-8. (Hen. II.) A writer in the publication called "The Crypt," (probably the late Rev. Peter Hall, author of the "Picturesque Memorials of Salisbury,") is of opinion that the present Church of Malmesbury is to be referred to the middle of the reign of King Henry II., about A.D. 1170-75. He is "disinclined to receive the conjecture which ascribes it to Roger, Bishop of Sarum who died in 1139. For of that conjecture the foundation is very slight: being only that Bishop Roger was a great builder, though chiefly of *castles*, one of which he erected at Malmesbury." The writer then enters into details justifying his refusal to attribute the present edifice to the famous Roger of Sarum. There are certain points, he says, in the architecture, that cannot fail to suggest a remarkable resemblance between this Abbey Church and that of Glastonbury: both seeming to be, as it were upon the balance between the Norman and the succeeding style. (The Crypt, vol. iii., p. 13.)

One of the many difficulties in settling the exact history of the building of the present church arises from William of Malmesbury's statement that down to the reign of King John, Bishop Roger's Castle was standing "in the very churchyard." The site of the castle now generally pointed out, is just *outside* the west side of the church-yard. But if any part of the castle, when entire, stood (as William says it did) *within* the churchyard, (*"in ipso cœmiterio,"*) it is not easy to understand how, before the castle was removed, the Nave could have extended so far westward as the present one does.

1216. (18 John.) Bishop Roger's Castle is taken down, and a grant of the site is made to the monks (Tanner, p. 592): "in the time of Walter Loring, Abbot 1205-1222," says an old chronicle seen at the Abbey by Leland: "Joannes Rex concessit castrum Malmesbir: diruen-

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dum cuidam Abbati nomine Walter Loring." (Lel., Collect., I., 301.)

In one of the Malmesbury Chartularies (Cotton MSS. Faustina, B. viii.) are several gifts of houses, &c., for establishing "Lights" and "Lamps," "Deo et altari Beatæ Mariæ *in majori ecclesiâ* Malmesb:" (to God and the altar of St. Mary in the larger church).

1267-1252. In Henry III., some land at Fyneswike was given to maintain the Chaplain of "Le Charnere" at Malmesbury (Tanner, p. 592). This name is from the French "charnier," a charnel-house. A building of this kind stood also in the cemetery of Gloucester Abbey. (Tanner, 138.)

c. 1500. The central Tower of Malmesbury Abbey Church fell down: "within the memory of man," says Leland, writing about A.D. 1540.

1534. In the "Valor Ecclesiasticus" of this year, mention is made of "The Chapel of St. Mary," and its wardens: and of the "Chapel of St. John the Baptist:" both in the Abbey Church.

1540. Leland at his visit noticed in the church-yard, Three Churches. 1. St. Mary's (the present church): the central tower fallen, but "a great square tower at the west end of the church." 2. "A little church joining to the south side of the transept of the Abbey Church, in which, they say, John Scot the great clerk, was slain about the time Alfred." This which he describes as "a *very old* piece of work," was probably the ancient church of "St. Saviour, Peter and Paul." 3. The church of St. Paul, the *parish* church before the Dissolution.

1541. St. Paul's being dilapidated, a License is granted to convert the Nave of the Conventual Church into a Parish Church. (See the Deed, Wilts. Mag., i., 248.) Yet there are entries on a fly-leaf on one of the old Parish Registers which show that sermons were preached in St. Paul's so late as 1638.

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1660. The West Tower had already fallen: as it does not appear in the Plate of the Abbey Church published in "Dugdale's Monasticon" about this year. Aubrey says that a portion of the central tower-pillars, with the parts above them, was thrown down by the noise of artillery at the Restoration of Charles II.

It is very likely that in the Registers, or Charters, &c., formerly belonging to the Monastery, there may be some allusion to works carried on at the church. For the convenience therefore of those who may have the opportunity of making further enquiry into the subject, annexed is a List of

MALMESBURY CARTULARIES, REGISTERS, &c., WHERE EXISTING.

London. British Museum.
Cotton MS. Faust. B. viii., Cartulary.
Lansd. MSS. 417, Cartulary, formerly J. West, Esq., 1763.
Addit: MSS. 15667, Plut. cxcv. H. Cartulary: unknown to Tanner: belonged formerly to Evan Seys. Bought 1845 of R. O. Jones, Esq. Deeds relate chiefly to A.D. 1226-46.
Harl: MS. 6748. 25,60,62. Charters.
„ Lincoln's Inn Library.
No. xciii. (C.) Art. 28. Collections out of Leger Book.
„ King's Remembrancer's Office, Exchequer; Cartulary.
„ Stone Tower at Westminster, (now Carlton Ride?); Cartulary.
Oxford. Bodleian Library.
Wood MS. v., fol. 10b., Cartulary, Mr. Brewster's in 1697.
Dodsworth MSS. lxvii., Art 2, fol. 93, Leaf of Notes.
Ditto cv., 17, fol. 90-93, Extracts.
Twyne ♁ 244, &c., Collections.

Oxford. (Bodleian Library, continued.)

MS. James 8. Extracts from Mr. Warneford's Cartulary, formerly Mr. Bayliffe's. (See below.)

T. T. Col. 241, Register of 100 pages, given by W. Brewster to Bishop Tanner.

„ Corpus Christi College.

ccxcix., 129. Cartulary.

„ Queen's College.

cclxviij., many Charters.

Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart.

MS., No. 73, Transcript of Wood. MS. v., mentioned above.

„ 4746, Extract from Cartulary in the Exchequer.

„ 4752, Extracts.

„ 4747, Pedigrees.

„ Cartularium Saxonicum Malmsburiense, Middle Hill, Edwin Offer, 1829, Folio.

„ Abbot Wm. of Colerne. His account of expenses and repairs, MS.

Wm. Bayliff, formerly of Monkton, Chippenham.

Cartulary, 2 vols., mentioned by Tanner and Aubrey, afterwards Mr Warneford's. In whose possession now, is unknown.

See Tanner's Notitia Monastica: for references to numerous other sources, as Patents, Close Rolls, &c.

J. E. J.

Who first founded Malmesbury?

THE traditional Founder of Malmesbury, according to the Primitive British Records, was Dunwal Maelmutius or Malmud,[1] King Paramount of Britain whose era is fixed 400 years before the Christian era. I find by references to various authorities that he was the son of Cloten, Duke of Cornwall, that he succeeded his father in that Dukedom 400 B.C., that he married Corwena, daughter and heiress of Albyn, now Scotland, and in 408 B.C. after defeating his competitors, Hymner, Rhyddoc and Staterius, ascended the throne of the whole island. By his wife Corwena he had two sons, Belinus who succeeded him, and Brennus the Conqueror and Captor of Rome and Founder of the Cisalpine or Celtic Empire of Italy. The Roman writers, Livy, Justin, Varro, and the Greek historian Polybius, concur in assigning the foundation or reconstruction of all the principal cities in Northern Italy, Mantua excepted, to this Brennus or his brother Belinus, specifying by name—Genoa, Milan, Brescia, Verona, Como, Trent, Bergamo and Vicentia. Analytic historians such as Niebuhr, Arnold, Mommsen, have come to the conclusion, grounded on a wide field of evidences, that if the main body of these early Invaders of Italy were Gauls, their leaders were British or Cymric. In this conclusion we cannot but agree, having before us in addition the positive statement of Richard of Cirencester, derived from original authorities,—"All the regions south of the Thames, were according to ancient records occupied by the warlike nations of the Senones. These people under the guidance of the renowned King Brennus penetrated thro' Gaul, forced a passage over the Alps hitherto impracticable and would have entirely razed Rome had not the Fates averted the threatened calamity." [Ancient state of Britain.]

[1] Pronounced "Malmeed"—"u" having the sound of "ee" in British, "Malmeedsbury" thus glides naturally into the contraction—Malmesbury.

Wilts (Wylt, British, the Wild) being part of Senonia, thus contributed its quota of heroes in these remote ages to the martial host, who "stormed the walls that Hannibal but gazed at," and whose leader throwing his heavy sword into the balance pronounced the celebrated "Væ victis" to the Roman Consuls and Senate.

Ariminum (Rimini) and Ravenna in Italy, were founded by Belinus, who continued to be worshipped in the temples with divine honors, as late as the fifth century of the Christian era. In consulting the Italian local authors of the Middle Ages, who are valuable as repertories of primitive traditions, some identical with, some varying from those of the classic authors, I find all agreeing in assigning the foundation or restoration of these ten cities to the two brothers, Belinus and Brennus, and not a few of them stating in express terms that these were the two sons of Malmutius, King of Britain. Amongst others, Tristanus Calchas who composed the first History of Milan writes thus—"All authors concur in making Brennus, who burnt Rome at the head of the Gauls, the founder of Milan as a fortified city. This Brennus was the son of a very famous Monarch and Legislator of the Britons named Malmutius, and with his brother Belinus conquered Gaul first and then led his army over the Alps into Italy. He was the first who crossed the Alps with a military force, having done so 140 years before Hannibal the Carthaginian." The names of these towns no less than the topography of most of the rivers, mountains, and natural features of Northern Italy, certainly indicate a British origin, as the names Belinus, Brennus, themselves are pure British, one signifying "The Sun" or "Apollo," the other "a King." The capture of Rome by Brennus belongs to Roman History, nor need it be further adverted to than to supply us from Plutarch and Virgil with a description of the uniform worn by the soldiers of this island who served under Brennus. Their helmets represented the heads of wild beasts or imaginary monsters adorned with winged crests to add to the apparent height, their bodies were guarded with steel-mail, and they carried shields polished to extreme brilliancy. Every one of noble blood wore a torque or chain of twisted gold round the neck and a tunic figured with gold. Each soldier bore a battle axe, and in close

combat used a heavy double-edged sword. Virgil was not only a Poet but an Archæologist of the highest order, and we are assured by his commentator Servius that he was "curiosissimus totius Italiæ," that is, he had minutely studied every department of Italian Antiquity, which is indeed obvious from his writings. Yet I can hardly reconcile such descriptions as these with those of Cæsar, three centuries after Brennus, but Cæsar is very difficult to reconcile with himself. He states that he made two campaigns in Britain, the second lasting six months, that he fought a succession of pitched battles, that at the end of these six months he had failed to force his way beyond our modern St. Albans, i.e., 70 miles from the coast, that the Britons twice attempted to carry his camp by storm, that he everywhere found agriculture in a flourishing state, being able to supply his army with corn from the fields wherever he marched; that the British King Cassibelaunus kept under his own command, independent of cavalry and infantry, a force of 4000 chariots with which he so successfully harassed the Roman Army, that his (Cæsar's) cavalry could not move except under the protection of his heavy-armed legionaries, yet he tells us that these Britons whenever they came into action stripped to fight, and this being their custom, they ingrained their skins with all kinds of devices of a bright blue color. It is quite true that every British school-boy still strips to fight, so invariably do our sailors in action, and every one that has seen a man-of-war's crew at their guns has really seen what Cæsar describes as the Picti Britanni, the Blue or painted Britons, for I need not say that sailors keep up this aboriginal custom of puncturing their bodies blue, or of tattooing themselves, with no less fidelity than ingenuity. In this usage they may like our ancestors be called perhaps barbarians, but it must be admitted barbarians of a very formidable character, such as Italians in any age might hesitate to encounter. Taking Cæsar's own statement, we must believe that these "Blue Britons" fought him, the first commander of the first Military Empire of Antiquity, at the head of the army which subsequently conquered the World and Rome itself, with such success in a series of engagements that he was glad to conclude a peace before winter set in, withdrawing every Roman soldier

from the island and subjecting himself to the imputation freely cast upon him at Rome that in one of these actions he had actually turned his back and fled for refuge to his camp,—"Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis."

A people who could thus repel the invasion of the greatest conqueror of the ancient world were either not barbarians, though, like the Highlanders as late as the battle of Culloden in 1745, they threw off their clothes in action, or if in despite of their highly organized military science, and powers of combination in the field, we must still call them barbarians, they have at least bequeathed to their civilized posterity lessons and examples with regard to dealing with an invader which we cannot do better than follow. If our barbarian forefathers with nothing but their native courage vanquished or at least baffled Cæsar and his mail-clad legions, their posterity with every military appliance which wealth or science can place at their disposal may feel that in their mouths the words of Shakespeare will never be a mere empty bravado,

> "If Britain to herself do prove but true,
> Come the four corners of the world in arms,
> And we will stand the shock."

But, as I observed, it is very difficult to reconcile Cæsar with himself in his account of his campaigns in Britain. Taking however his statement for correct that the British Monarch had 4000 chariots in the field, here is at least in one peculiar arm of service a force of 8000 horses and 8000 mounted warriors—a fact quite irreconcilable with our ideas of barbarism. There must have been a regular system of roads for this national force—these roads must have been some time in existence, for Cæsar alleges these 4000 chariots were but a part of the national armament—such armaments are not created at once nor before roads are formed on which they can be used in peace or war, nor before the arts of mining and smelting in various branches have attained a certain degree of perfection and extension. Combining then these facts and statements derived from the classic and for the most part hostile authors, I see no reason to refuse credit to the British and other authorities which affirm that Caer Odor or Bristol, Caer Malmud or Malmesbury, Crug-Lwyd or Cricklade,

Llech-Llwyd or Llechlade, were originally built by Malmud or Malmutius the father of Belinus and Brennus. We have seen that his sons were great city builders in Italy. It is not I believe disputed that Belin's gate, vulgarly Billingsgate in London, and Caer Belin now Caer-Phili in South Wales, were also so called from Belinus. It follows that there is no improbability in the statement that the powerful father of such builders should have been something of a builder himself, that he should have indulged the commonest of methods by which Kings have in all ages attempted to transmit their memory to after times. Nature has in every country her strong positions which a military eye immediately detects. Such sites abound in Greece, Italy, France and Britain. It is impossible for Antiquity itself to put its finger on the time when such positions as Edinburgh, Stirling, Durham, Dover, Rome, Corinth, Athens—nature's own fortresses opening up or commanding wide districts—have not been occupied. Revolutions in commerce affect the value of some of these cities, revolutions in the art of war the value of others, but we may lay it down as a general rule that there is not a naturally strong fortress in any land which was not seized and in some way fortified very soon after its earliest colonization. The situation of Malmesbury on a peninsulated rock, at the confluence of two streams commanding a fertile district, satisfied all the requirements of peace or war in primitive times. The wisdom of that selection, in a military point of view, has been proved by the numerous sieges it stood in the middle ages, and the succession of castles which have been erected on the ruins which preceded them. And as to the fertility of the soil, the Ecclesiastics, and particularly the Monasteries, seldom made a mistake on that point. All over the kingdom wherever we meet with an Abbey Farm it is certain to be the best farm in the parish, but we must in justice recollect that the Abbots and Monastic Houses were on the other hand the best and the most enlightened landlords in the kingdom. The same local advantages which challenged the attention of King and Churchman in later ages were, we may be assured, not thrown away on the religion or ambition of preceding eras. Wiltshire is studded with religious remains of the grandest

character, from Avebury to Stonehenge, of the British period. Stonehenge in its way was no less remarkable than Malmesbury Abbey. I cannot suppose that Primitive Wilts was deficient in defensive structures, nor can I explain to myself why the river washing the base of the formidable military site of Malmesbury still retains the pure British name of Avon, if the first settlers on its margin, and occupants of its natural strongholds were not Britons. The appellation given it by the race who first built their habitations on its banks has never disappeared, attesting at this moment the fact of a British Founder to the town it encircles, and though that material foundation itself may have been swept away by the revolutions of races, kings and laws, I must confess that I entertain the belief that its original name, as "Malmud's Castle, Castra Malmutii," or Saxon, "Malmud's Burg," is co-eval with the name of the river, both being purely British, running back to the dim but not unscientific eras when the vast circle of Avebury, the Gilgal of Britain, was pitched, and the masses of Cor Gaur (afterwards Stonehenge) were elevated into the air. The Architects who reared this latter pile would certainly have experienced no difficulty in the construction of ordinary buildings. Now the chronicles of the British Kings state that Malmud laid the foundations of Bristol and Malmesbury the same day. I see no solid reason to discredit this statement. I accept it on the grounds which I have enumerated, viz., that his sons, Belinus and Brennus were great city builders, that Wilts abounds in British monuments of prior date to Malmud requiring greater mechanical skill and appliances in their construction than any castles or fortifications—that the name of the stream on which this castle was built is the best natural evidence we can have that its founder spoke the language in which the name still bears the meaning of "a River." It is obvious that no Roman, Saxon or Norman gave the stream its present appellation. In what language has that appellation a meaning? In the British. The man or men who named it were therefore Britons; which leads us by another process of reasoning to the same conclusion. And if the Chronicles and Traditions of Britain are all in unison in the statement that the Briton who founded the Castle on the Avon was Malmud, and that the

castle retains his name, I am satisfied for my part with such agreement of monumental, philological and documentary evidence. I consider the old British King, the Justinian of Antiquity, to be the first Founder of this town, and to have first built upon this site; others continuing to build on the ruins of his structure, on the ruins of the Roman—of the Saxon: as I venture to say many of the houses in modern Malmesbury have since been built out of the ruins of the Norman Abbey and its outhouses.

Having attempted to do justice to Malmud as a Founder of Cities, I have a word to say about him as a Founder of Constitutions. There are extant in the British language some very curious epitomes of British History drawn up in the Druidic Form of Triads, and therefore called "The Triads." There are other Triads of Poetry, of Bardism, of Proverbs, of Religion, of Law, but it is the Historical which bear upon our present point. There are certain of these in which Malmud enacts a prominent part in more than one capacity. I cite one or two illustrations. "There are three pillars of the nation of the Isle of Britain—the first two mentioned are; Hu the Mighty, its first colonizer, and Prydain from whom it derives its name; the third is Dunwal Malmud, who codified the Laws, Maxims, Usages and Privileges of the Country and its Isles." Another Triad runs thus—"The three Founders of the Monarchic system in Britain—the first Prydain, the second Dunwal Malmud, the third Brennus or Bran son of Lear—on the systems of these three rested the Monarchy of Britain." A third mentions Malmud as one of the three Benefactor Sovereigns, or as the Greeks would term them—"Euergetai" of the Isle of Britain, in being the Founder of its Institutes—and a fourth, as one of its Three Primary Inventors. I consider these singular matter-of-fact Triads confirmatory evidence that Malmud was not a myth, but a real character, a substantial hero of flesh and blood, playing a very important part in the Early History of our Island.

And I must not conclude without giving a specimen of his Laws and Legislation. These Laws are a codification, in the above Druidic fashion of Triads, of the usages, faith and practices, which were brought into this Island by our first British ancestors from the

East, probably about the era of Abraham, certainly very many centuries before the Christian era. No allusion to Judaism, the Greek and Latin mythologies, or to Christianity is to be met with in them. They are manifestly the code of a patriarchal state of society, and of a purely Monotheistic religion. They used to be learnt by heart by all the students in the Druidic Colleges, one requisite of a Druidic Law being "that it should be intelligible to all the people." When we remember the gross folly and inhumanity—I may say the brutality—of many of our own modern Laws till a very recent date, such as the enactments of hanging a man for stealing a sheep or a horse, in common with committing a murder, we shall perhaps be amazed at the very different spirit which breathes in this earliest Legislation of our Island, nor shall we be less surprised at the high tone of civil liberty, which animates this "Code Malmud" of one of the three Sovereign Benefactors of Britain—a title which the mildness and beneficence of its maxims amply justifies. I quote a few specimens.

"There are three tests of Civil Liberty, viz., Equality of Rights—Equality of Taxation—Freedom to come and go.

"There are three things which are private and sacred Property to every man, Briton or Foreigner—his wife, his children, his domestic chattels.

"There are three things belonging to a man which no Law of men can take or transfer—his wife, his children, and the instruments of his calling, for no Law can unman a man or uncall a calling.

"There are three persons in each family exempted from all manual or menial work—the little child, the old man or woman, and the family instructor.

"There are three Orders against whom no weapon can be bared—the herald, the bard, the Chief of the Clan.

"There are three of private rank against whom no weapon can be bared—a woman, a child under fifteen, and an unarmed man.

"There are three civil birthrights of every Briton—the right to go wherever he pleases, the right wherever he is to protection from his land and sovereign, the right of equal privileges and equal restrictions.

"There are three sons of captives who free themselves—a bard, a scholar, and a mechanic.

"There are three things which every Briton may legally be compelled to attend—the worship of God, military service, and the Courts of Law.

"There are three things free to every man, Briton or Foreigner, the refusal of which no Law can justify—water from a spring, well or river; firing from a dead tree, a block of stone not in use.

"There are three Orders who are exempt from bearing arms—the bard, the judge, the graduate in Law or Religion. These representing God and his peace, no weapon must be found in their hands.

"There are three thieves who shall not suffer punishment—a woman compelled by her husband, a child, a needy person who has gone through three towns, and to nine houses in each town, without being able to obtain relief though he has asked for it.

"There are three Ends of Law—prevention of wrong, punishment for wrong inflicted, insurance of just retribution.

"There are three sacred things by which the conscience binds itself to truth—the name of God, the rod of him who offers up prayers to God, the joined right hand.

"There are three persons who have a right to public maintenance—the old, the babe, the foreigner who cannot speak the British tongue."

The Malmutian Code is contained in 248 clauses, varying in length from a few lines to a page or more. It was translated by Gildas the Historian A.D. 600. "Si quis voluerit hæc omnia scire, legat Malmutinas leges quas Gildas Historiographus de Britannico in Latinum sermonem transtulit." (Leland's Collect: iii., p. 20.)

Malmutius designed and partly constructed the system of British Roads which the Romans found here, on the lines of which nearly all the Primitive British towns were built. These were 1, the Sarn Wyddelin (Irish Road) corrupted into Watling Street, from Dover to Holyhead; 2, the Ryknield Street from Menapia to the mouth of the Tweed; 3, the Ermyn Street (properly Armin, that is "Frontier" Street, the same word as "Ariminum,") from Anderida or Pevensey to the Humber; 4, the Iknield Street on the Eastern

coast; 5, Akeman (properly Ach-maen, i.e. Pavement) Street from Menapia (St. David's) joining Watling Street at Leicester; 6 and 7, the two Sarn Halens, i.e. Saltways from the Cheshire salt mines to Portsmouth and the Humber; 8, the Fosse Road from Ictis (St. Michael's Mount) to Dunbreton (Dunbarton) on the Clyde, unless we terminate it at Ludford in Lincolnshire. Some of these roads were undoubtedly pitched or paved from their British names "Palmentadi," others like the Fosse appear to have been little else than open strata or passages running without interruption from end to end, free to all, and placed under the protection of the "King and Country." A robbery or assault on any one of these was visited with the same legal penalty as burglary or violence in a closed house. They took mostly a sinuous line at a moderate elevation above the ground. Being completed by Belinus they were better known as the Belinian roads. In their first and second invasions the Romans made them their lines of march and subsequently in some measure laid down their own military roads by them. Hence the Belinian and Roman Itinera constantly run in and out of each other.

The trade with Phœnicia appears to have attained its height in the reign of Malmud. Ezekiel mentions tin as a staple article in the commerce of Tyre, the city which rose "very glorious and of great beauty in the midst of the sea, the merchant of the Isles far off." As the tin mines of Cornwall were the only ones ever known to the Ancients, the article must have been obtained in that cradle of British mining and commerce. Wherever bronze is made mention of, British tin must as early as the days of Moses have found its way.

Malmutius bequeathed his first name Dunwal or Dunwallo to the place of his birth which still retains it in Cornwall—Dunwallo Wynton. Tradition places also his ducal palace there, which the name "Wyndun the White Town," seems to confirm.

He is said also to have been the First British Monarch who wore a golden crown with the double arch, the Kings who preceded him being content with a plain gold bandlet.

He was succeeded after a reign of 40 years by his son Belinus

who built over his remains the "Porta Belini" now Billingsgate in London.

The original name of Brokenborough was Cad-bury. Whenever we meet with "Câd" it implies that a battle has been fought on the spot, and a "Battle-mound,"—"Cad-bury"—erected for the fallen. Câd occurs in almost every county in England. *Caer*-durburg the name of the Saxon Royal Palace at Brokenborough, also indicates its origin to be British.

Upon the whole, supposing Malmutius to have first occupied the commanding position on which Malmesbury stands, and the Monk Mael-dulph (the first syllable of whose name is identical with that of Malmud as written in the British "Maelmud") who fixed his Hermitage, amongst probably the debris of centuries on the same site in the sixth century to be considered its religious Founder, there appears to be a good deal more of interesting matter transmitted to us from the hoary records and traditions of Antiquity about the King-Father than the Monk-Father of this ancient town. The name Malmesbury, flowing so easily from Malmeedsbury, cannot without some degree of phonic violence be derived from such a word as "Maeldulphsbury," and it is but historical justice that the claims of the Royal British Numa, adverted to by Leland, Camden and others, to be the original Founder of the stronghold on the River Bladon, should—admitted or not—be at least formally recorded in court.

BRITANNICUS.

Charlton, August, 1862.

The Life and Times of Aldhelm,

Abbot of Malmesbury, and First Bishop of Sherborne,

By the Rev. W. H. Jones, M.A., F.S.A., Vicar of Bradford on Avon.

IT would be wrong, now that we have met at Malmesbury, were not some notice taken of Bishop Aldhelm, whose name is so completely identified with this place, and who was the virtual founder of its once famous monastery. Few perhaps are there to whom we really owe more, as regards the establishment of Christianity in Wessex, than to the great man whom the chroniclers designate as "the good Aldhelm[1];" the first of that long line of Bishops, who, now for well nigh eight centuries, have had their See at Sarum.

Separated as we are from the times of which we are to speak by a gulph of more than 1200 years, it is hardly wonderful that we should find it difficult to give what might be deemed a trustworthy account of Aldhelm's history. The notices concerning him in the writings of his cotemporary Bede are but few and scanty, and the sketch of his life by Alfred the Great, which, as we infer from some remarks of Wm. of Malmesbury, once existed, has long since perished. The principal biography[2] that is left to us, was not

[1] Thus in the "L'estorie des Engles" of Geoffrey Gaimar we have, after a brief description of what occurred under the date 704, the following lines—

"Un an apres cil de Westsexe
Del *bon Ealdelm* unt feit evesque."

Monum. Hist. Brit., p. 783.

[2] Two biographies of Aldhelm have come down to us: one by Faricius, a monk of Malmesbury, who was afterwards Abbot of Abingdon from A.D. 1100—1117; and another by William of Malmesbury, about A.D. 1150, a copy of which is among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum. Both these lives are printed in the "Acta Sanctorum." The latter is to be found in the second part of Wharton's "Anglia Sacra," and also among Gale's "Collections." Capgrave wrote a short life of Aldhelm, which is especially interesting as having been published by Wynken de Worde.

written till 400 years after his death, and its author was a monk of the Abbey of which Aldhelm was the founder. The honor of the society seemed involved in exalting the fame of its Abbot; and hence the story of his life abounds in fulsome eulogy and a long detail of presumed miracles[1] which the credulity of the age too willingly accepted as real. In truth, legend and fact are so strongly interwoven in the writings of the early monastic chroniclers, that it is difficult, and, at this distance of time, hopeless to attempt to disentangle them.

We know, for certain, neither the time nor the place of Aldhelm's birth. Wright, in his "Biographia Literaria,"[2] gives it as his opinion, that he could not have been born before the year 656. He relies on a statement made by Wm. of Malmesbury, to the effect that Aldhelm, whilst yet a lad—(the term employed is "*pusio*,"[3] which, he contends, could not be applied to any one more than 15 or 16 years of age)—went to study in Kent under Hadrian who did not arrive in England till 670. From other authorities, as trustworthy at least as Wm. of Malmesbury, we learn that he presided over his Abbey for more than 30 years, and was, at the time of his decease in 709, fully 70 years old. This would give an earlier date for his birth by some 16 or 17 years:—in fact would fix it about the year 640.

There is, among the Glastonbury charters,[4] one of the date of 670, to which the name of Aldhelm is appended as an attesting witness, and he there calls himself "Aldhelm *Abbas*." There is also, in the Malmesbury Chartulary, a copy of what may

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[1] Amongst the miracles ascribed to him were the following. A beam of wood is said on one occasion to have been lengthened by his prayers: the ruins of the church which he built, though open to the skies, were declared never to have been wet with rain during the worst weather: one of his garments, when he was at Rome, it is gravely asserted, remained for a time self-suspended in mid-air. See Turner's Anglo-Saxons, iii., 402.

[2] Biograph: Brit: Literaria, p. 212.

[3] The exact words are—"Ibi *pusio* Græcis et Latinis eruditus literis, brevi mirandus ipsis enituit magistris." Wm. of Malmesbury, MS. Cotton, fol. 128,

[4] Kemble's Cod. Dipl., No. 7.

be called the foundation-deed of the monastery[1]—its first formal endowment by Bishop Leotherius who held the See of Wessex from 672—676,—in the authenticity of which Wm. of Malmesbury has shewn his belief by incorporating it into the text of his narrative.[2] Both of these deeds, it is true, are marked by Kemble as of doubtful authority, and Wright scruples not to throw out the opinion, that possibly "all the charters of the foundation of Malmesbury Abbey are forgeries, made perhaps after the Norman Conquest to be exhibited as titles against the usurping spirit of the invaders."[3] That they are originals no one pretends, but since the statements contained in them are fairly consistent with known facts, are corroborated by other charters relating to societies with which Aldhelm had no concern, and thoroughly agree with the uniform tradition of Bishop Leotherius having been the founder of this Abbey, it seems hard to deny them the character of being faithful transcripts. As Wright's arguments are based on an expression used by Wm. of Malmesbury, who, as we have seen, believed in the genuineness of these deeds, and no doubt from them derived materials for the history that he gives us of the first foundation of his monastery, we seem, in yielding a general assent to the facts contained, or implied in these charters, to be treading on as sure ground as those who may come to a different conclusion.

Accepting therefore as true, the statement that Aldhelm was Abbot of Malmesbury in the time of Bishop Leotherius, (or about 672,) the date of his birth would, as we have already said, be probably about 640. This carries us back to a remote period in the history of our country, when scarce thirty years had passed since the death of Augustine, the head of the Italian mission from Gregory the Great to England, and when, as is evidenced by the continual conflicts waged in these parts for some fifty years afterwards, the borders of the kingdoms of Wessex and Mercia were but imperfectly defined. The latter kingdom was as yet heathen;[4] on Wessex the

[1] Kemble's Cod. Dipl., No. 11.

[2] Wm. of Malmesbury, Chron., B. i., c. 2. [3] Biog. Brit. Lit., p. 213.

[4] Thus in a charter by King Ina, dated 725. (Cod. Dipl., No. 73) reciting the privileges and estates belonging to Glastonbury, we have a remarkable

light had just begun to break through the darkness which brooded over it by the extinction of its primitive Christianity through the oppression of the Saxon invaders. Possibly the very year of Aldhelm's birth was that in which Birinus, afterwards Bishop of Dorchester, the real apostle of Wessex, came over from France to England, with the sanction indeed of Rome but without owning any allegiance to the successors of Augustine in the See of Canterbury, and was the means of inducing King Cynegils and his family to profess the Christian faith.

Aldhelm was of royal lineage. His father's name was Kenter, a near kinsman of Ina, who in 688 became King of Wessex. Some writers have spoken of him as Ina's nephew, but Wm. of Malmesbury, referring for his authority to a kind of common-place book written by Alfred the Great which seems to have been before him when he compiled the life of Aldhelm, states such an opinion to be incorrect.[1] Indeed a mere comparison of dates would shew its improbability, for though Aldhelm died at the ripe age of 70, the decease of Ina was not till sixteen years afterwards.

In the charter to which I have already referred, the foundation-deed of the Abbey, there is an expression which implies that from his earliest infancy and throughout his boy-hood he was brought up at Malmesbury.[2] His principal instructor appears to have been Maildulf, a Scot, or perhaps Irish, hermit, who settled here in the earlier part of the seventh century, and of whom it will be necessary presently to give a more particular account.

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passage of which the following is a translation. "Hædda the bishop, with permission of Cœdwalh, who, *though a heathen*, confirmed it with his own hand, gave Lantokay." Hædda was Bishop of Wessex A.D. 675—702. Cœdwalh was baptized, and died, at Rome, in 688.

[1] His words are—"Qui enim legit manualem librum Regis Alfredi reperiet beati Aldhelmi patrem non fuisse Regis Inæ germanum, sed *arctissima necessitate* consanguineum." Godwin (Præsul. Anglic.) speaks of Aldhelm as "propinquus Inæ Regis, qui erat, sicuti traditur, ejus ex fratre nepos, si non, quod asserit Capgravius, filius."

[2] Kemble's Cod. Dipl., No. 11. Bishop Leotherius thus speaks of Aldhelm's early association with Malmesbury:—"in quo videlicet loco a primo ævo

Leland in his Collectanea[1] supplies us with some extracts which throw a glimmer of light on the history of this place in remote times.—"Some people say" are his words "that there was a house of nuns close by the Castle of Ingelbourne, in a certain hamlet called Ilanburgh, by the Saxons termed Burghton. They were guilty of acts of incontinence with the soldiers of the castle, and so were all expelled by the Archbishop of the Saxons. They were under the direction of Dinoth, (Abbot of the famous monastery of Bangor,) who numbered some 2000 monks in different places that looked up to him as their superior."—The time that is alluded to would be about the close of the sixth century. Allowing that there is some truth as the existence of this convent, it is but too probable that its inmates were dispersed and their house destroyed by the ruthless Saxons, who in their heathendom exterminated every trace of civilization, and burnt alike the churches and dwellings of the British Christians. It is certainly remarkable, that of the innumerable Roman villas and towns of which the foundations have been discovered in all parts of England, every one bears marks of having been destroyed by violence and not by time, fire apparently in almost every instance having been the agent of destruction.[2]

No long time after the suppression of this early British monastery, Providence guided the steps of Maildulf to this spot. Struck with the similarity of the wild woodland to his own native country, and its suitableness for the retired life of a hermit, he determined to settle here. The king's palace and his manor were near at hand, at what was then called "Cair-dur-burh," afterwards "Brokenberg,"[3] so termed no doubt from some "*broken*" or rifled sepulchral "*barrow.*" He asked permission to build himself a cell *(tugurium)* under Caer-Bladon, i.e. the castle on the *Bladon*, the name given to

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infantiæ atque ab ipso tyrocinio rudimentorum liberarum liberalibus literarum studiis et in gremio sanctæ matris ecclesiæ nutritus vitam duxit."

[1] Leland, Collectanea, ii., p. 304.

[2] Parker, Introduction to Gothic Architecture, p. 10.

[3] Leland, Collectanea, ii., p. 302.

the river flowing by Malmesbury, now known by the generic term of the Avon. He was poor,—and hence, as his learning was great for those days, for his maintenance he established a school.[1] By degrees he formed his scholars into a small society, but so needy were they that they could scarce find means of subsistence. An extract given by Leland fixes the foundation of this monastery in 637;[2] but this, if trustworthy, can only allude to the time when Maildulf first established himself here.[3] His monastery, if such indeed we may call it, was after all but a voluntary association, hardly subject to rules, and held together by similarity of views and feelings among those who became members of it, and a common reverence for their teacher. Indeed, for some centuries after this time, the word "*monasterium*" frequently means only a church, with three or four priests attached to it.[4] At all events an important end was served by Maildulf's society;—it became, in some sort, a missionary settlement, a centre from which the blessings of Christianity might be conveyed to the surrounding population, as yet, for the most part, heathens. Fully alive as we have been in later times to the evils of monasticism we cannot doubt but that in *primitive* form it conferred many benefits on our country. Monasteries,

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[1] "Hic dum sibi necessaria deficerent, scholares sibi in disciplinatum adunavit. Brevi autem tempore scholares in exiguum conventum coaluere." Leland, Collectanea, iii., p. 158. The words of William of Malmesbury (MS. Cotton) are still stronger as to Maildulf's poverty:—"Deficientibusque necessariis, scholares in disciplinatum accepit, ut ex eorum liberalitate tenuitatem victus corrigeret."

[2] Leland, Collect., ii., 301. The extract is said by Leland to have been taken from a chronicle of the Abbey, which he saw on his visit to Malmesbury. It is added, that it was in the same year that Mahomet, the false prophet, died.

[3] William of Malmesbury, in his Chronicles, under date of A.D. 955-959 speaks of the monastery of Malmesbury as having been inhabited by monks for more than 270 years. Robert of Gloucester, in his Chronicle, adopts the same date. Thus in speaking of Edwin, who was king from A.D. 955-959, he says,—

> "Abbeys þys luþer man brogte ek in alle wo.
> And þat hous of Malmesbury, þat an old hous was þo,
> Of two hondred yer and seuenty yrerd þer byuore,
> He made yt stable to ys hors, as it were alle vorlore."

[4] Parker, Introduction to Gothic Architecture, p. 19.

in the first instance, as the Dean of Chichester tells us,[1] had very much the character of Moravian settlements, or rather of those stations established in the south of Africa by the Bishop of Cape Town. They were lay institutions connected with the church, a few of the inmates of which were ordained, though they formed the exception rather than the rule. In fact, they were most instrumental in bringing the population at large under the sway of the Gospel, when, possessed of lands, their occupants became themselves the cultivators of the soil, and could address in terms of equality and brotherly love the slaves whom they had set at liberty, and teach them to serve Him whose service is perfect freedom.

It was the germ of such a society as this, afterwards developed by the zeal and influence of Aldhelm into a more regularly constituted monastery, that the hermit Maildulf established here. It is commonly supposed that the name of the town is derived from him—*Maildulf's-byrig*, softened down in the course of centuries to Malmesbury. Bishop Gibson[2] carries us however a step further, and argues, from the forms of the name with which he meets in the Saxon Chronicle,—sometimes *Maeldemesbyrig*, and at others (or rather in other manuscripts) *Aldelmesburh*,—that the word contains something of *Maildulf*, and something of *Aldhelm*, and is a compound made out of both these names. That Bede[3] calls this place "*Maildulphi urbs*" (=Maildulf's-bury), and that such a designation was acquiesced in by others, is true; but its earliest name, after the introduction of Christianity into Wessex, was certainly *Mal-dunes-berg* or *Mel-dunes-berg*,—and in Latin we have the form "*Meldunense* Monasterium,"—as though the root of the word in Anglo-Saxon was *mæl-dún*, that is the "*hill of the cross*,"—or, as we might say—"*church hill*."[4] That these two forms "*Maildulf's-berg*," and "*Maldunes-berg*," were at one time regarded as distinct names, is clear from an expression in a charter of Eadgar,[5] in 975, in which the two

[1] Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, i., p. 30.

[2] In the glossary to his edition of the Saxon Chronicle. His words are—"Nomen igitur loci, tum Maildulphi, tum Aldhelmi, aliquid continet, et ex utroque conflatur."

[3] Eccl: Hist: B. 5, c. 18.

[4] The town of *Maldon*, in Essex, is derived from *mæl-dún*.

[5] Kemble, Cod: Dip: No. 584.

are given with the passing comment—"quod Angli *biphario* vocitant onomate." Of course, it is by no means contended that the names of its two founders may not have had something to do in modifying the name of the place, still a suggestion is hazarded, that as *Caer-Bladon* was its name in British times,—and *Ingel-bourne* when the English arrested it from its first possessors,—so *Mal-dunes-berg* may possibly mark the period when once more the Christian church was planted here, and the doctrine of the Cross again permitted to be proclaimed to those who lived in this part of the country. You have at all events an analogous name at no great distance from this place. What is now termed *Christian Malford* was originally *Christes-mœl-ford;*—i.e. the ford by "*Christ's-cross.*"

Aldhelm, whilst yet in early life, is said to have travelled in Gaul, and Italy, and to have spent some time in various schools of learning. On his return to England he went to study in Kent under Hadrian, an African by nation, and a monk originally of the Niridan monastery, supposed to have been situated near Monte Cassino in the kingdom of Naples. Pope Vitalian, to whom the kings of Kent and Northumbria agreed, under the peculiar circumstances of the times,—especially with regard to the angry disputes between the ancient British church and that planted by Augustine in the island,—to leave the selection, had chosen this same Hadrian as successor to Wighard in the See of Canterbury. Hadrian, though a learned man, felt that something more was required for the high office, and so declining it for himself recommended Theodore, a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, as the man whose practical talents and administrative ability marked him out as eminently fitted for the post. With true generosity he consented to accompany the new archbishop to England as, so to speak, an "amicus curiæ," and, when here, carried out the work to which he had devoted himself by establishing at Canterbury a school of theology in which the clergy were especially trained in a knowledge of those doctrines which it was their mission to make known to others. William of Malmesbury describes Hadrian as "a fountain of letters and a river of arts." Together with the Archbishop Theodore he understood the importance of a learned clergy; and these two great

men worked together zealously and harmoniously in their endeavours to carry out their plans for the promotion of this object. "They regarded," it has been said,[1] "civilization as the handmaid of Christianity, and of civilization they knew that learning is the parent. They found the English people eager to be instructed and appetent of knowledge. They gathered around them a crowd of disciples, and, as Bede says, there daily flowed from them the streams of knowledge to water the hearts of their hearers. Through their influence all the larger and better monasteries were converted into schools of learning, in which the laity as well as the clergy imbibed a respect for literature, and, in many instances, a love of it. In the time of Bede, as the historian himself informs us, there were scholars of Theodore and Hadrian who were all as well versed in the Greek and Latin languages as in their own." Amongst these was certainly to be reckoned Aldhelm, who, on more than one occasion, seems to have repaired to Kent, to receive instruction at the "feet of Hadrian." As late as 680,—some years after he must have been formally admitted as Abbot,—he signs as "scholasticus Theodori Archiepiscopi,"—an expression which may be interpreted as meaning generally, "one of the school," or, as as we might say, "a disciple" of Archbishop Theodore.

It must have been about the year 670[2] that Aldhelm was admitted into the honorable office of Abbot of the monastery of St. Peter and Paul at Malmesbury. We do not learn that at this time Maildulf was dead;—indeed as far as we can obtain a clear account from the fragmentary and often conflicting statements of chroniclers, he would seem to have lived some fourteen years after Aldhelm's formal appointment as Abbot, and to have submitted himself, as a member of the society, to the rule of his former disciple. William of Malmesbury tells us[3] that Leotherius, Bishop

[1] Hook's Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, i., 163.

[2] His signature, as Aldhelm *Abbas*, is to be seen appended to various charters contained in the Codex Diplom., ranging in date from A.D. 670-701. See Nos. 7, 993, 995, 997. What authority is to be given to those signatures is of course an open question. Some of the charters are, at the best, only copies of the originals. As far as dates are concerned, there is no inconsistency with known or fairly presumed facts, in Aldhelm's history.

[3] Chronicle of the Kings of England, B. 1., c. 2.

of the West Saxons, "after long and due deliberation gave the monastery to Aldhelm, a monk of the same place, to be by him governed with the authority then possessed by Bishops." And then he gives a copy of the charter, to which allusion has been made, by which the Bishop bestows on "Aldhelm the priest in order that he might lead a life according to strict rule that portion of land called *Maildulfesburg*,[1] in which place from his earliest infancy and first initiation in the study of learning he had been instructed in the liberal arts, and passed his days, nurtured in the bosom of the holy mother church." The grant would seem to have included the site on which the Abbey and its surrounding buildings afterwards rose. In the Malmesbury Chartulary[2] this deed is dated in 675, but, as Bishop Leotherius died in that year, the date which William of Malmesbury gives,—viz., 672,—is more probably the correct one.

A few years after the constitution of a regular monastery here, its revenues were increased by endowments from various sources. The first benefactor singularly enough was Ethelred, a king of Mercia, who, at the request of his kinsman Cœnfrith, Earl of Mercia, endowed it, in 681, with lands at Newentone (Long Newnton) and Charletone (Charlton) next Tetteburi.[3] In the following year Cædwealha of Wessex, bestowed on Aldhelm an estate, described as being "on either side of the wood called Kemele" (Kemble), a gift which he considerably augmented some seven years afterwards.[4] His original gift was certainly a remarkable one, inasmuch as the Kings of Wessex had, after embracing Christianity, relapsed again into idolatry, and Cædwealha at the very time when he was endowing Aldhelm's monastery was himself a heathen. Possibly the awe of a good man, and the secret conviction that after all Christianity now openly professed in the kingdom of Mercia was right, may have moved him to this act. At all events in the year 688,—the very time it may be observed at

[1] In the copy of the charter given in the Lansdowne MS. the word is spelt "*Mealdumesburg*." Cod: Dip: 11.

[2] MSS. Lansdowne 417, fol. i. [3] Ibid, fol. 2. Cod: Dipl: 23.

[4] See Charters 24 and 29 in Cod: Diplom.

which he enlarged his gift to Malmesbury—he went accompanied by Aldhelm to Rome, and was there baptized by the Pope Sergius. We seem almost to infer from this circumstance, that the conversion of the king was owing to the efforts of his earnest-minded kinsman, the Abbot of Malmesbury.

Of other gifts to this monastery we need only mention the estate at Sumreford (one of the Somerfords, in North Wilts) given by Berhtwald, in 685, with the consent of Ethelred, King of Mercia; and those at Garsdon, and Rodbourne, bestowed in 701 by Ina, King of Wessex.[1] As far as a rough calculation can be made, Aldhelm acquired during his life-time hardly more than one fourth of the property, that afterwards, by the benefactions of various kings and nobles, came into the possession of the monastery.

Aldhelm succeeded to his office in most eventful times, and no doubt did his part in the great work that was going on, under Archbishop Theodore, in giving a permanent character to the Christianity of England. Previous labourers had done much towards the conversion of the various kingdoms of the Heptarchy, and effects that might be deemed almost marvellous, did we not remember how many circumstances rendered the people willing to receive the Gospel, followed their efforts. The ancient British church, crushed, as far as might be, by the heathen Saxon, still held forth, though with feeble hands, the lamp of truth. The Christianity of the native Britons, even in their state of subjection to their cruel oppressors, was still faithfully, though often secretly, maintained. There is a vitality in the religion we profess, so that, though it may seem well nigh extinguished at times by the hand of persecution, from its smouldering embers the flame soon bursts forth again, when, in God's Providence, the tyrant's hand is loosed, or his heart is softened. So it is in Madagascar now;—"cast down, but not destroyed,"—such is a description of the Christians there, forced as they were, not many years ago, to succumb to the cruel edict of a Queen who would fain have extirpated every trace of the religion of Christ from her island. But even there, as the journal of the

[1] Cod: Dipl: 26, 48.

Bishop of the Mauritius, who has lately visited Madagascar, strikingly shews, the seed, though trampled under foot, has all along lived, and germinated in secret, ready again to blossom when providential circumstances shall favor its development. Even so was it in our own country in Anglo-Saxon times. Tens of thousands of souls gathered within the fold of the Church of Christ within but a few years shew, that when the sower came forth to sow his seed the soil was already prepared for its reception.

Of Aldhelm's life as Abbot of Malmesbury very few details are preserved to us. Under his care and guidance his monastery soon acquired fame as a seat of piety and learning. It became moreover a centre of religious influence over all the surrounding country. The chroniclers are unanimous in bearing witness to Aldhelm's unceasing efforts to do good, and to his constant acts of painful self-denial, notwithstanding much weakness of body, that he might shew the example of a holy life to all who came under his rule. His earnestness was manifested by the establishment of two smaller monasteries, one at Bradford on Avon, and another at Frome, over which he also presided as Abbot. At Malmesbury he built two churches, one within the monastery, and another without its walls for the villagers or towns-people ; the former of which he erected on the foundations of an old British Church [1] and dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, in that age the favourite Saints of the Anglo-Saxons. The Latin verses which he composed on the occasion of the formal consecration of his church are preserved to us by William of Malmesbury.[2]

One anecdote which is related concerning him, and which belongs to the period during which he resided here, is too characteristic to be omitted, the more so as William of Malmesbury professes to have obtained it from the manual or note-book of King Alfred. Observing with pain that the country-people who came

[1] In like manner the churches erected in the 7th century at Canterbury, and Glastonbury, were built on the foundations, or from the ruins, of older churches. The Churches of St. Paul's and Westminster also were restorations by Mellitus, Bishop of London, of buildings which had been formerly consecrated by the Celtic Bishops.

[2] They are printed by Wright in his "Biograph. Liter.," p. 213.

to hear divine service could with difficulty be persuaded to listen to the exhortations of the preacher, Aldhelm determined to seek to impress the truth of Christianity upon them in another way. He was himself a poet and a musician, and so, watching the occasion, he stationed himself on the bridge over which the people had to pass, and, in the character of a minstrel, recited and sang to them some popular songs. A crowd of listeners soon collected around him, and when he had gained possession of their attention he gradually introduced words of a more serious nature, till he at last succeeded in impressing upon their minds a truer feeling of religious devotion. We all know how much the Reformation was advanced in this country and elsewhere by the use of singing psalms; though few of us remember, that, in the commencement of Christianity among our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, it was the same use which promoted the knowledge of religion with them, the psalm itself being frequently called, from that time, the harp-song.

Allusion has already been made to the work that was going on in England under Archbishop Theodore. That "grand old man" as the Dean of Chichester rightly terms him, who was well nigh three score years and ten before he entered upon his high office, effected a marvellous change within the twenty-two years during which he held the See of Canterbury. It is no part of our present subject to dwell on Theodore's efforts, except so far as they paved the way for Aldhelm, who was afterwards the means, to a great extent, of conciliating the ancient British Church, that still assumed a hostile attitude towards that established by Augustine. And these cannot better be described than in the words of Dr. Hook:— "Hitherto" he says "the Church in England, whether we have regard to Celtic churches, or to those connected with the Canterbury mission after the expulsion of the British Bishops, was simply a great station for missionary operations. Sometimes on horseback, but oftener on foot, the missionary would go forth from his monastery to the towns in the plain, whither the people would flock to hear the word, and to receive the Sacraments. At other times he would be absent for whole weeks, having scaled the craggy mountain, and having penetrated the recesses occupied by the

bandit and the outlaw, whom none but he could dare approach, seeking to allure the wild people by his preaching and example to heavenly employments. In the Bishop's missionary residence a strict frugality was observed. The missionaries only required a few houses, besides the church, and *in* the church, when the houses were full from an unexpected return of the missionaries they would direct the straw to be strewn for their beds. They were frequently visited by the wealthy, but only shared with them their simple fare, and made no extra provision for their entertainment; and if the great men of the world, on departing, left them donations in money, it was spent in making provision for the poor.

But all the clergy were not engaged in missionary labour. From the migratory character of their courts, the princes were accustomed to select certain of the clergy to accompany them for the performance of the services of the church; and the thanes soon followed their examples, and appointed their private chaplains. On this foundation Theodore erected his parochial system. He perceived that Christianity, if it were to be rooted in the land, required more than the occasional delivery of a sermon and the administration of Sacraments:—he recognised the superintending duties of a pastor who should gather the sheep in one fold. He persuaded the thanes and landed proprietors to place a church in the centre of their estates, and so to secure a constant intercourse between the minister of the Gospel, the inmates of the castle, and the serfs. By degrees he laid the foundation of what we now call the parochial system; and converted what had before been but a missionary station into a permanently established Church. The Saxon Chronicle notices his death under the year 690, with this brief but significant remark. 'Before this, the Bishops had been Romans; from this time they were English,'—in fact a native church, henceforth supplied by a native ministry, had become a part of the constitution of the country."[1]

Berhtwald became Archbishop of Canterbury in 692. He was of royal lineage, being related to Ethelred the Mercian King. The accession of the first native Archbishop was followed by marked

[1] Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury i., 152.

results as regards the real progress of Christianity;—and these were owing to no little extent to the efforts of Aldhelm.

We are all aware of the bitter enmity that existed between the Celtic Churches and those which recognized the authority of the successors of Augustine. Hard things have been often said concerning the early British Christians, and they have been accused of grudging the blessings of the gospel to the Anglo-Saxons. Apparently there was a fixed determination among them not to attempt the conversion of the Anglo-Saxon race. Still we must not be too severe upon them, for the wrongs they had received from their persecutors had been awful in the extreme. This does not of course justify their conduct; still one cannot but feel that their difficulty arose to some extent from the contemptuous unwillingness on the part of the Saxon to listen to the teaching of the despised and persecuted Briton. The fierceness of the hatred that existed between them for a time rendered all union impossible. Even trivial matters such as the right day for observing Easter, and a peculiar mode of tonsure, were exaggerated into importance, and raised up as barriers against all communion between the two churches. The determination of the British Bishops which was not to be broken by the insolent demands of Augustine, had as yet refused to yield to the more politic diplomacy of Theodore.

But a change was coming over the scene. Berhtwald had the gratification of seeing, at the very commencement of his archiepiscopate, a code of laws promulgated by King Ina, in which Christianity was fully acknowledged as the basis of all moral and social obligation; and we can hardly doubt that to this important step, Ina was urged by his friend and kinsman Aldhelm. And then, immediately afterwards, a desire for union and reconciliation was evinced by the Celtic Bishops who expressed their readiness to yield on the question of Easter. In Cornwall the Bishops retained the old usage, but they were met by Berhtwald in a truly Christian spirit. He employed Aldhelm to write a letter to Geraint, Prince of Cornwall,—the letter is still extant—and by this means, we are told, many of their objections were removed. Peace was soon afterwards cemented between the two churches;—

the consequence of the mild and fatherly rule of Berhtwald, and the wise and charitable counsels of Aldhelm.

No doubt there were many abuses and corruptions even in this early age of the church. But though a tendency to superstition prevailed, no one can read the account of the doings of the latter part of the seventh century without seeing that it was a turning point in the history of the church in this country, and allowing that there must have been real progression in vital Christianity as evidenced by the wonderful change which took place in the whole state of society.—"War, which had formerly been the pastime of the great, and the chief employment of a people eager of plunder, was now regarded as a cruel necessity from the excitement of which Kings and Princes were eager to escape. A desire to enjoy the pleasures of retirement and the spiritual enthusiasm of the contemplation of life became a passion. Nobles left their halls and the mead-bench, Queens their palaces, and Kings, the descendants of Woden, the pomp and circumstance of war, when the duties of the royal vocation could be performed by younger men and the public welfare no longer demanded their services. By retirement, at that period of our history, was meant a monastic retreat; but we know from Bede that it was not necessary for every one who, at this period joined a monastery, to bind himself to remain a monk for ever, or even to seclude himself from society."[1]—Such an altered state of things attests the reality of the work that had been going on for some years previously. Making every allowance for wild enthusiasm, a flame easily kindled and as easily extinguished, we must admit that in the days of Berhtwald there was what in these latter times men would not scruple to call a general revival of religion. The prevalent feeling of the age was the love of piety, and to this result no one contributed more effectually than the good Abbot of Malmesbury.

It was not wonderful that such a man, when the necessities of the church required for its due superintendence an increase in the number of its Bishops, should be marked out as eminently fitted for that high office. Hence in 705, on the death of Hædda,

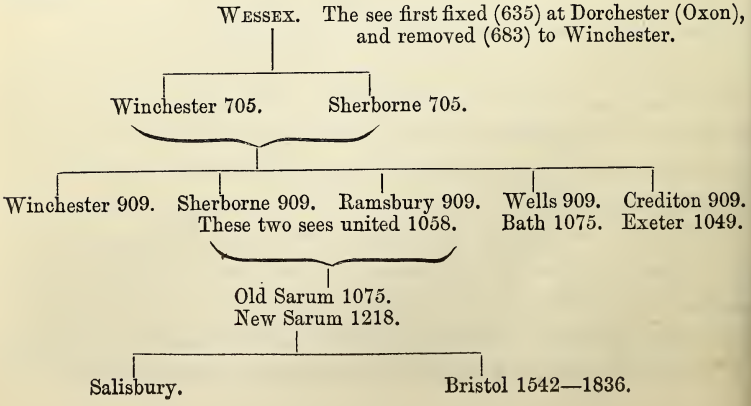
[1] Hook's Archbishops of Canterbury, i., 180.

Bishop of Wessex, two separate sees were constituted out of his extensive diocese, one of which was fixed at Winchester and the other at Sherborne. To the latter, Aldhelm was consecrated by his friend, and, as some will have it, his kinsman Archbishop Berhtwald. The diocese attached to the See of Sherborne comprised the counties of Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall.[1]

No sooner was Aldhelm appointed Bishop of Sherborne than he expressed a wish to retire from the office which now for many years he had held as Abbot of the monastery at Malmesbury and its branch societies at Bradford and Frome. The members of the various households prevailed upon him to permit them still to look up to him as their superior. It speaks much for the respect and love with which they regarded the good bishop.

Aldhelm only held his see for the short space of four years. He set himself earnestly to the great task assigned to him by travelling from place to place, and, wherever he had the opportunity, preaching and exhorting others to preach the gospel faithfully to the people. It is by no means improbable that in the name Bishopstrow, i.e., *Bishop's-tree*, a place but a few miles from Frome the site of one of his monasteries, we have a memorial of one of his journeys through his diocese, when, before a church was built, he collected the people under a tree, and there proclaimed the truth to them. The church

[1] The following table gives a view of the formation of the various dioceses in Wessex.



at Bishopstrow is still dedicated to St. Aldhelm. In a somewhat similar way the memory of Felix, the first Bishop of East Anglia, is preserved in *Felixstow*, a little village in the neighbourhood of Norwich.

It was whilst engaged in his sacred work at no great distance from the same neighbourhood that Aldhelm finished his earthly course. He was near Doulting,[1] a small village in Somerset, not far from Shepton Mallet, when he felt himself smitten for death. He straightway directed his attendants to carry him into the little wooden church, when, commending his soul to God, he tranquilly breathed his last. The church at Doulting, as well as that at Bishopstrow, is dedicated to St. Aldhelm.

Under the direction of Ecgwin, Bishop of Worcester, the body of the bishop was brought to Malmesbury and buried in the chapel of St. Michael, which Aldhelm himself had built. Stone crosses were erected as memorials at intervals along the road by which they bare him to his burial, some of which remained in the days of William of Malmesbury. In the reign of Edwy, the bones of Aldhelm having been discovered and disinterred were enshrined with much solemnity by Dunstan. And according to Leland,[2] though it is by no means easy to weave a consistent narrative out of the extracts which he gives us, they were again removed by Osmund, Bishop of Sarum, at the commencement of the twelfth century.

A place has been given to Aldhelm in the Roman calendar, and

[1] Wright makes the place of Aldhelm's decease to have been Dilton, near Westbury, in Wilts, (Biogr. Liter. 217.) This is clearly a mistake, for one of the chroniclers speaks of the place as having belonged to Glastonbury, and been given to that monastery by Aldhelm:—"quam pridem dederat monachis Glastoniæ." All that is probably meant is, that he had induced Ina to give the estate at Doulting to Glastonbury; as that King, according to a charter printed in the New Monast. i. 48, appears to have so bestowed it in the year 708. There is abundant evidence that much that was done by Ina was through the influence and often through the agency of Aldhelm. Thus in the "Annals of the Church of Winchester" printed from the Cotton MS. in the Anglia Sacra we have the following entry." A°. 683. Ina Rex West-Saxonum construxit cenobium Glastoniæ, et *per manum Sancti Aldelmi* monachos imposuit." See New Monast. i., 204.

[2] Collectanea, ii., 299.

the 25th of May appointed as the day for his commemoration. Few, from all that we can learn respecting him, more fairly deserved to be had in grateful remembrance than the first Bishop of Sherborne.

Aldhelm does not appear to have been a voluminous writer, and several of his productions have perished. Those alone which gave celebrity to his name were his two treatises on "Virginity,"[1] and his "Ænigmata." These are filled with Latinized Greek words, and with awkward expressions which render them obscure, and abound in alliteration and metaphor. Even William of Malmesbury felt compelled to offer an apology for his style grounded on the corrupt taste of the age in which he lived.

Aldhelm claims to have been the first Englishman who wrote Latin poetry, and we have a few of his productions remaining to us. Of his Anglo-Saxon verses, which are said to have been much prized by King Alfred, none have come down to us. He is said also to have translated the Psalms of David into the vernacular tongue, but there is no authority for the opinion too hastily adopted by Churton in his history of the "Early English Church," that the Anglo-Saxon version of them discovered in the Library at Paris, and edited by Thorpe in 1855, is to be attributed to him.

The view in which Aldhelm should be regarded is of course that which brings out the influence which he exercised on the times in which he lived. As far at least as the kingdom of Wessex is concerned, it can scarcely be doubted that his was the guiding hand that impressed the character for good upon it of which the evidences are so abundant. Few, it is conceived, will be inclined to withhold from him the just meed of praise for having done his best in planting deeply and surely the true faith in his country. Making every allowance for the exaggerations with which the superstition or credulity of monkish writers have dwelt on the excellencies of his

[1] In the Lambeth Library is a very ancient copy of Aldhelm's work "De Virginitate," [Cod., 200, fol. 68b.] H. Wharton and Lye, no mean judges, have no hesitation in pronouncing it a work of the *eighth* century. In the Lambeth catalogue a fac-simile is engraved of the first leaf of the manuscript, which contains an illustration representing the Bishop in his episcopal chair, giving the book to an Abbess and several attendant nuns. An account of the manuscript is given in the introduction to the Lambeth catalogue.

character, none who fairly consider his life can deny him that of an earnest piety and a desire to promote peace and love among all who professed a common faith.

In several important particulars it would not be difficult to draw a parallel between Aldhelm, and one of his most illustrious successors in the See of Salisbury. Jewel,—no less than Aldhelm,—lived in troublous times when a great struggle was being waged for the truth. Both of them, according to their opportunities and the special needs of the church of which they were chief ministers, became valiant champions for its doctrine and its discipline. Each put his hand to the plough, and looked not back, nor let go his hold, till death loosened his grasp of it. We all know the simple and touching story of Bishop Jewel's decease;—how, against the expostulations of friends, he preached his last sermon at Lacock though then stricken with a mortal malady,—how, bent with suffering, he toiled on wearily to Monkton Farleigh, and there laid him down to die. It would seem almost a repetition, with a change of time and place, of the tale of Aldhelm,—borne in his last sickness from the very scene of active labour, to the little wooden church, that gave a rude yet peaceful shelter to the dying bishop. And Jewel's noble saying,—"*Oportet Episcopum prædicantem mori,*" —fully as he carried out its principle himself, had found no unworthy exemplification in the life and death of one, who, some nine hundred years before, had presided over the same see, as the first Bishop of Sherborne.

THE

Architecture of Malmesbury Abbey Church.

THE abbey church of Malmesbury must, when perfect, have claimed a very high place among our ecclesiastical edifices, being conceived on the fullest cathedral type, on a scale surpassing several churches of cathedral rank, and carried out with a very high degree of merit in its actual architecture. At present, a fragment only exists; six bays out of the nine which formed the nave are used as the parish church, and some small portions remain in a ruinated state to the east and west; happily indeed enough, combined with certain historical indications, to re-construct in imagination all the principal features of this magnificent building.

With the early history of this renowned monastery I have at present no concern. Of the kings, saints, and abbots whose names are connected with the first six centuries of its existence, I have nothing to mention, save that tradition still points out the resting-place of the greatest of their number. What Harold is to Waltham, Waltheof to Crowland, and Simon of Montfort to Evesham, "glorious Æthalstan" was to the no less venerable pile of Malmesbury. I need not go about to show that the tomb and statue which are exhibited as those of the patron hero must have been renewed many centuries after his death; but as we know that such complete renewals of the tombs of memorable men were by no means unusual in the middle ages, I would fain believe, if no strong historical argument can be brought to the contrary, that the monument to which the guide still conducts the stranger as that of the vanquisher of Scot and Northman, does really cover the dust, though it may not represent the form, of one of the foremost among the bright galaxy of our true and native kings.[1] Now,

[1] The position of the tomb need form no difficulty. Doubtless its original place was near the high altar; but when the eastern part of the church was

however, I have only to deal with times when his imperial sceptre had passed into the hands of a stranger and an enemy, and when within the very walls of that ancient convent, the most elegant—perchance not the most truthful—historian of his age was tracing out the story of that memorable change, as a grateful offering to the best and bravest of the conquering race.

The church of Malmesbury consisted of the usual parts of a great English minster, the four limbs of the cross and the central tower. The church was purely conventual, and did not belong to that class of churches, partly monastic and partly parochial, to which a first glimpse might tempt one to refer it. That is to say, the whole church belonged to the monastery, and not, as often happened, the eastern part to the monks and the western to the parish. The remains of the proper parish church stand a little to the south of the abbey; as the parishioners did not obtain possession of the abbey church till after the dissolution.

It appears to be generally believed that the present church was begun by Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, about the year 1135. This tradition seems confirmed by two passages of William of Malmesbury, neither of which directly assert it.[1] Certainly the architecture

destroyed, the tomb might be removed into the part of the building which remained, just as was done with the tombs of the Dukes of York at Fotheringhay. The passage from William of Malmesbury about Æthelstan's burial "sub altari Sanctæ Mariæ in turri," can of course prove nothing, as referring to the church which no longer exists.

[1] William (De Gest. Pont. v., ap. Gale. ii., 349) clearly implies that the church was rebuilt in his time. Aldhelm he tells us, in the eighth century built two churches, one of St. Michael, the other of St. Mary. Of St. Michael only some fragment or ruins spared to William's time (cujus nos vestigia *vidimus*). But Aldhelm's church of St. Mary—or one which the monks believed to be Aldhelm's church,—remained perfect in his own time. "Lata majoris ecclesiæ fabrica celebris et illibata nostro quoque *perstitit* ævo." The use of the past tense clearly shows that both the ruins of St. Michael and the perfect fabric of St. Mary's had ceased to exist when he wrote. That is, they were destroyed to make way for a new church during his lifetime. Now in another work (Gesta Regum lib. v., § 408, p. 637 Eng. Hist. Soc. ed.) he speaks of the building of Roger at Salisbury and Malmesbury, describing their general architectural splendour and also all the excellent masonry, which is very conspicuous in the present church of Malmesbury. The expression would but naturally apply to a church, and can hardly be understood of the castle, which, according to William (Hist. Nov. lib. ii. § 19, he barely began, *inchoaverat*).

of even the earliest portions of the church is remarkably advanced for that date, but this is no more than we might reasonably expect in the works of a Prelate so renowned for his architectural skill, and whom we might therefore naturally expect to find at the head of the artistic developments of his age. If, then, we accept this date, we may recognize in the foundation of this church one of the most memorable epochs in the history of architecture in this island; for we may safely set it down as exhibiting the first English example, not indeed of the incidental use of the pointed arch, when any special necessity rendered it desirable, but—what is a very different matter—the first instance of its distinct preference on æsthetical grounds in the main arcades of a great church. When this point had been gained, the battle between Romanesque and Gothic was really won by the latter; every Gothic detail now followed as a natural development in its natural order. Malmesbury, however, happily exhibits the style just after this first and greatest change had been accomplished, and no other commenced; every other feature is still Romanesque. In short, while, in a history of English architecture, we ought to speak of Malmesbury as the earliest of Transitional examples, it will in practically describing the building itself, be far more convenient, and indeed far more accurate, to speak of its earliest portions as a specimen of the pure Norman style.

One remark, however, I must make. I mentioned 1135 as the date assigned to the commencement of the Church. We must, on the one hand, remember that great churches were not, least of all in the reign of Stephen, finished in a year or two, and that the west end would probably be the last part finished; consequently, Malmesbury nave may well be twenty or thirty years later than 1135. But, on the other hand, there is no reason why the whole may not, as was often done, have been gradually erected from one original design; and, indeed, the great uniformity of the Norman work throughout would lead us to believe that such was really the case. As far as the church is perfect, and as far as existing fragments enable us to judge of the choir, the four great limbs essentially Norman, always remained with considerable Decorated and

Perpendicular changes though in detail. There was an eastern chapel, but I believe nothing can be said of it, except that it was standing in the days of William of Worcester, and that its length was 36 "gressus suos," and its breadth only 9; a somewhat strange proportion, and which may perhaps suggest a sort of square eastern aisle, possibly round an apse, rather than a regular projecting Lady Chapel.[1]

The Norman Church: Nave and Aisles.—The nave consists of nine bays, six of which, from the east end, form the present parish church, the extreme western portion being in ruins. All here is Norman except the entire clerestory and some other insertions of windows, and even in the clerestory the design can be made out throughout; as in the eastern portion of the nave, the present clerestory windows have been simply inserted in the Norman walls, while in the rest the re-construction has been more complete.

In the interior the triple division of height is well maintained, there being a triforium of noble porportions. The piers are of the genuine English form, vast cylindrical masses, with round imposts, hardly to be called capitals, though approaching the character of capitals more than is done by some other examples. The arches are just pointed, but they are so very obtuse as hardly to detract from the purity of the Romanesque effect. They have somewhat elaborate sectional mouldings. The triforium has a not very common arrangement, four small arches within a containing arch; the latter is enriched with a chevron, but the capitals are all quite plain. Roof-shafts rise without bases from the imposts of the pier. We may remark an increase of ornament towards the east; the two eastern bays on each side having much richer mouldings. This excess of enrichment extends also to the string over the arcade in the three eastern bays on the south side, and in the first, and part of the second, (from the east,) on the north. The labels over

[1] What are we to make of the "little church joining to the south side of the transeptum of the Abby Chirch," of which Leland speaks? He can hardly mean the little church standing on the south side of the churchyard. Are we to infer that some building was attached to the transept, as the Lady Church at Ely?

the arches are rich throughout, and terminate in monster heads; others of the like form act as keystones.

The Norman clerestory has left no vestiges of itself in the interior, but externally, its design, as I before mentioned, can be readily ascertained. This clerestory is remarkable for its unusual height, and this height is by no means wholly owing to the later reconstruction, which introduced only a very trifling increase of elevation. The Norman pilasters run very nearly up to the present cornice; so that very little height has been gained, and the size of the clerestory must therefore have originally been, as compared with other buildings, even more remarkable than at present. The windows were tall, single, round-headed lights, their jambs adorned externally with medallions in circles, somewhat like those in the presbytery of Llandaff Cathedral.

This whole elevation must have been one of the very grandest in England; it has all the solemn majesty of a Romanesque building, combined with somewhat of Gothic aspiration. The bays are tall and narrow, the triforium large, the clerestory still larger; it is impossible not to contrast the magnificence of this arrangement with the miserable effect of the stilted piers and diminutive triforia of Gloucester and Tewkesbury naves. If there be any approach to a fault, it is, that the peculiar design of the triforium introduces a somewhat awkward blank space in its head, and that the attempt to unite the continuous vaulting-shaft and the circular pier—each in itself a most magnificent feature—is not altogether successful.

The aisles were lighted by short broad round-headed windows, with arcades beneath them within. On the south side too an arcade of interesting arches runs under the windows without. On the north side, where the cloister stood, there is of course no external arcade, and the windows are necessarily placed higher in the wall. The vaulting of the aisles is quadripartite, with moulded ribs; the transverse arches are pointed, and quite plain.

The West Front.—Of the west front only a small fragment now remains, but quite sufficient to enable us to ascertain both its original design, and the changes which it has undergone. At the south-west corner is what at first sight appears to be the west wall

of a tower terminating the aisle, a rich and good specimen of Norman work; small relics of the west window and doorway, the former evidently a Perpendicular insertion, cling, as it were, to the larger fragments. From this the imagination at once leaps to the conclusion, that the façade was one of the commonest, and yet (saving its precedence to Peterborough) the most satisfactory type; the gable between two western towers. The Perpendicular window inserted in the Norman front at once suggests Southwell as the existing instance most likely to recall its general effect. But a little further examination will show that this natural flight of the imagination—in which I must confess to have indulged myself years ago, on my first glimpse of the building—is simply a delusion. An inspection from any point but the direct west will show that the supposed tower has no wall to the south or east, and none to the north but the clerestory of the nave. In fact, the façade is simply a sham; there is merely a turret, with a blank wall connecting it with the west end of the nave. The original front must have been the exact fac-simile—or, to speak with more chronological accuracy, the prototype—of that of Salisbury. During the Early Gothic period, it is well known that such violations of reality were familiar to our architects, as is shown by the additional cases of Lincoln, Wells, and Newstead; I have not, however, as yet met with another instance in English Romanesque. Considering the chronology and geography of the case, I think one can hardly doubt but that the Salisbury architect only copied the original error of him of Malmesbury.

The turret and the connecting wall are perfect up to nearly the height of the nave, but the parapet of the wall and the finish of the turret are destroyed. Both are richly adorned with arcades, with a very gradual increase of ornament towards the top; but the division into stages is not identical in the turret and the connecting wall. There is only a single window ranging with and resembling those of the aisles. The intersecting arcade is also carried under the window, and it was continued along the west end of the nave, but not across the turret. The arcade is of course interrupted by the west door, but by one west door only, as there are none in the

west end of the nave. Of the great doorway a portion of the jamb, which is very rich, is all that remains; but we can see that a Perpendicular doorway, with a flat head and spandril, was inserted within the Norman opening. We may partly infer from this that the latter had a tympanum?

Side Doorways.—The magnificent Norman porch on the south side of the church is probably the feature for which Malmesbury Abbey is most celebrated; but, as a work rather of sculpture than of architecture, it is the very portion which comes least within my province. Happily the remarkable, I might almost say beautiful, series of sculptures with which it is adorned, have been elaborately treated by Professor Cockerell, in his work on the Sculptures of Wells Cathedral. In my point of view, the outer doorway is simply a grander specimen of the same form as the west door of Iffley, where, instead of legitimate shafts with capitals, we have large continuous bowtels, covered with sculptures. The inner doorway has a sculptured tympanum, and there are also sculptured figures on the sides. There are arches traced out for vaulting, which seems not to have been added. There is a smaller Norman doorway in the extreme east bay on the north side, which led into the cloister.

The Lantern.—Of the arches under the tower, the northern and western ones remain perfect; the latter of course being blocked, as the church now terminates at that point. The northern arch is now quite free, except at the north-west angle, and it forms a most striking object especially in the ascent to the abbey from the lower part of the town. This part of the church should be attentively studied. The choir was doubtless, as is usual in Norman minsters, under the lantern, and this ritual consideration has had some effect upon the architecture. As is so often the case, the eastern and western arches have as little projection in the pier as possible, the shafts being recessed, something in the same way as the curious ones at Leonard Stanley.[1] But on the north and south sides, it

[1] See Mr. Petit's description of that church in the Archæological Journal, vol. vi., p. 45. I was also struck by the resemblance between the monsters forming the label terminations at Malmesbury and Stanley.

was desirable to have as much blank wall as might be; the arches therefore have bold projecting responds. The object of this arrangement, which may be seen in many other Norman churches, is to get as much uninterrupted backing for the stalls as possible. It follows thus, although the lantern is a square, and not an oblong, like Stanley and Bath, the side arches are very much narrower than the east and west ones. Hence they are very much stilted, to keep them at the same level. One wonders they were not pointed, as in the earlier example at St. Bartholomew's in London, and the later in Oxford Cathedral; and we might be tempted to ask whether this non-use of the pointed arch, where one would naturally have looked for it, does not prove the nave arcades to be of later design? But love of at least comparative uniformity might induce the architects to make them all semicircular, while to have the eastern and western arches—the most prominent arches in the church—pointed, would seem a further development beyond using that form in the arcades of the nave.

Over the arches are some traces of Norman ornaments which have been cut through by a Perpendicular vault. This is the usual fate of Norman lanterns, to have a great part of what was originally open to the church cut off by a later roof. In many cases this was done in order to hang bells in the tower, and in some cases, as at Winchester and Romsey, it seems to have been connected with the destruction of a previously existing campanile. Here however, as we shall presently see, this was not the state of things, but the reverse. The change therefore seems the more wanton; but we may probably find its cause in a consideration of practical expediency. The choir, as we have seen, was under the tower, and we have no reason to suppose the monks of Malmesbury to have been more impervious to cold than other mortals; to diminish the height of the choir might therefore be an important gain in point of practical comfort.

The character of the central tower, which these arches supported, we can only conjecture. We only know that it was crowned by an enormously lofty spire, but that both tower and spire fell some time before the dissolution and were never rebuilt. Perhaps we

shall be nearest the truth in imagining a rich Norman tower, crowned with a timber spire of later date.

Transepts.—Of the transepts we find remaining the greater portion of the west wall of the south wing, and a small portion on the north side. They had no western aisles; their eastern arrangements cannot be made out without disturbing the foundations. They projected two bays beyond the aisles of the nave, with which they communicate by pointed arches. In the triforium range the windows assume internally the form of a triplet, but the side arches merely open to a passage, the actual window being single, but much larger and longer than the other Norman windows in the church. Below is the same small window and intersecting arcade beneath as in the nave aisles.

Presbytery.—Of the eastern limb, forming the presbytery of the church, there remains only the merest fragment attached to the great northern arch of the lantern. We can however see that its general character was exactly the same as the nave, with a little more enrichment in point of detail, there being a small decorative arcade added below the triforium string. As the ritual choir appears to have always retained its original place beneath the lantern, we may fairly conclude that the presbytery itself never received any addition of length, but had merely a chapel added beyond it. It doubtless remained till its destruction a short Norman structure of three or four bays, as at Peterborough and Romsey.

Decorated changes: Windows.—The church, as completed some time in the twelfth century, remained untouched during the whole of the next, unless the eastern chapel which had so completely vanished belonged to that period, or unless any addition was then made to the central tower. The main body of the Norman fabric certainly remained unchanged in all its original grandeur during the age which erected Salisbury, completed Romsey, and remodelled Ely and Lincoln. Consequently of Lancet architecture this abbey affords no study whatever, nor yet of tracery in its earlier form, but of the advanced Geometrical forms, contemporary with many Flowing examples, it supplies us with some important specimens. Here, as at St. David's and Llandaff, one great object of the

Decorated architects was to adapt the aisles to the style now in vogue; but at Malmesbury, while this design was less completely carried out than in those instances, the change was extended to another portion to which their benefactors of this period gave but little attention; the clerestory was remodelled throughout the nave and apparently throughout the whole church.

I have already stated how far this last change was an actual rebuilding of the clerestory, and how far a mere insertion of windows in a previously existing wall. The windows are rather tall compositions of three lights, with the exception of those in the eastern bay, which, the bay itself being narrower, are of two only. The tracery is of a somewhat singular form, composed of *imperfect* spherical triangles, of which some examples occur in Exeter Cathedral.[1] In the south aisle two large Decorated windows of three lights have been inserted, low in the wall, so as to cut into the decorative arcades below. The tracery is very remarkable. The main lines are the same as in a very beautiful window in the Mayor's Chapel at Bristol,[2] the general notion being a subarcuated window with a large quatrefoil for the centre-piece, but with two perpendicular lines substituted for its lower foil; they are therefore instances of the accidental forestalling of Perpendicular in a Geometrical design. The intention of this form here and elsewhere probably was to receive a representation of the Crucifixion in stained glass. But our Malmesbury example is by no means to be compared to its Bristol fellow. It not only lacks the beautiful enrichment of ball-flower which embellishes the latter, but the actual lines of its tracery are of a very inferior kind. The fenestellæ at Malmesbury are simply cinquefoiled; the centre-piece is not foliated again, as at Bristol, and there is a sort of awkward flowered cusp instead of an arch in the head of the central light. There is another window in Bristol, in the porch of St. Mary Redcliffe, of the same character, and whose primary lines are the same; but here the quatrefoil is completed on a secondary plane, which makes it much more satisfactory as a mere piece of tracery than the other two, but not so well adapted for the purpose above suggested.

[1] Essay on Window Tracery, p. 71, 270. [2] Ibid. p. 82, 271.

All these windows have a close analogy with the class which have a spherical square for their centre-piece.

On the north side only a single Decorated window has been inserted in the aisle, but this is one which deserves attentive study on many grounds. It will be remembered that the cloister stood on this side, consequently the window was necessarily inserted at a higher level than those in the north aisle. The Norman arcade therefore below the window is spared. But between the roof of the cloister and the vault of the aisle there was not room for a window of the same height as those which were inserted on the south side. The designer was therefore driven to the ingenious expedient of carrying his window up into a separate gable, rising from the parapet of the aisle like a dormer, and internally cutting away one cell of the Norman vault, which he reconstructed after his own fashion. This has been done in other cases where the same reason made it necessary, as at Leominster. There is also a window similarly placed on the north side of the Priory Church at Brecon, but the circumstances here are somewhat different, as its position was not necessitated by the cloister—the conventual buildings being situated to the south of the church—and indeed it is placed over another window.

The tracery of this window is no less worthy of remark than its position, but, as I have already described and figured it in my work on that subject,[1] I will not repeat the observations which I have there made.

I cannot pronounce any opinion whether it was intended to alter the windows throughout the aisles, so that we have merely the first instalment of a change which was never brought to perfection; or whether larger windows were simply inserted where they were practically wanted. An argument that the former was not the case may perhaps be found in the fact that on the south side the sills of the Norman windows have been brought down lower, so as to cut into the arcade, apparently at this time. At any rate, I feel sure that the insertion was not merely owing to æsthetical considerations, but was intended to remedy the very practical deficiency of the

[1] Pages 80, 271, plate 70, fig. 12.

want of light. The great size of the piers and the unusually short distances at which they stand from each other, must have rendered the church singularly dark when it was entirely dependent for its illumination on the original Norman lights. The common notion is that these windows were inserted after the Dissolution, when it is said that more light was needed in what now became the parish church than had, I suppose, been necessary during the darkness of monastic occupation. The only objection to this ingenious theory is the unmistakable date of the windows.[1]

Other Decorated changes;—Besides the windows, the general appearance of the nave, within and without, was considerably modified at this period. A new roof was almost necessitated by the new clerestory, and the form it assumed was naturally that of "a goodly vault of stone." The vaulting is quadripartite with some additional lines; the keystones have rich bosses of foliage, but two from some destroyed portion of the church, which are preserved in the vestry, have one a female figure, the other the five wounds of our Lord.

The vault springs from the level of the string below the clerestory, where the Norman shafts have been finished with new flowered capitals. The whole height of the clerestory is therefore taken into the vault, and its great height and narrowness, causes the arches to be stilted in a very awkward manner. The same clerestory and vault were also extended to the transepts. In the corner of the north transept we see one of the Norman shafts, but here single, and not clustered as in the nave, finished with a Decorated floriated capital. In the south there is a clustered shaft with an octagonal capital.

The addition of the stone roof doubtless rendered necessary the

[1] This reminds me of a story I have somewhere heard of an ingenious speculator into the history of architecture, who decided that the increase of the size of windows during the Perpendicular æra was owing to the contemporary introduction of printing. That is, I believe, that the congregation wanted more light to enable them the better to read in their recently acquired Prayer Books. Without starting any minor chronological difficulties, only just imagine a whole parish trooping down to mass, each man with a new Caxton, either tucked under his arm or carried after him by his running varlet, according to circumstances.

elaborate system of pinnacles and flying-buttresses which was now introduced. The pinnacles of the aisles are very tall and plain, and rise within the parapet, so as not to interfere, except in one instance, with the Norman pilasters. On the north side the whole wall has been very much tampered with, but the flying buttresses rise in the same way as on the south, except in the two western bays of the present nave, where, instead of being *flying* buttresses, they run up in all their massiveness against the clerestory. Buttresses have been added below the windows, since the destruction of the cloister; between the windows are pilasters, probably restorations of the original Norman ones.

The north side of the church being that occupied by the conventual buildings, the south is consequently the *show side*; it accordingly receives, both in the aisle and the clerestory, an elaborate pierced parapet, which is absent on the north. There are no pinnacles in the clerestory on either side.

Finally, at this time the great south porch was externally recased. This involved the erection of another arch in front of the great Norman gateway. The circular form was happily chosen for the arch, and two of the old monster-heads were used up again as its label terminations. The moulding of the arch is a bold wave: the size, shape, and section of this arch reminded me altogether of one on the north side of the ruined nave of Brecon Collegiate Church.

Perpendicular Changes: the Western Tower.—During the last æra of Gothic architecture, the church received, as far as its existing remains allow us to judge, only one addition of much moment, but that was one of the greatest importance, and must have completely changed the outline and general appearance of the building. This was no other than the addition of a western tower, the "great square" tower spoken of by Leland. The church must, therefore, when complete, have exhibited that peculiar form of grouping which results from two towers, one central and the other western.

There almost seems to be a sort of fatality about this form. As every one knows, it is in existing churches the rarest of any; but traces, architectural or historical, may be discerned, of its having existed, or at least having been contemplated, in several churches

where at present it no longer remains. Ely Cathedral is the only English example on a very large scale, and I do not know of any case, besides Purton and Wimborne Minster, where a smaller church of this outline remains perfect to this day. But we all know that Hereford Cathedral presented the same form within the memory of man, and it is manifest that such was the case at Leominster as long the church was perfect. Bangor Cathedral and Christ Church in Hampshire bear evident tokens that they were at least designed for it, central towers having been certainly contemplated, if never erected, though the western ones now alone remain. At Shrewsbury Abbey, again, we cannot doubt but that the central tower must have existed, though that portion of the fabric has been destroyed. We might add Wymondham Abbey, in Norfolk, so lucidly illustrated by Mr. Petit,[1] if we are really to consider this as a case in point, and not rather as two distinct churches in juxta-position.

In some of these cases, the western tower formed an integral part of the original design. This was the case at Ely and at Leominster, and Mr. Petit has shown that the present Perpendicular west tower of Wimborne represents a Norman predecessor. But the western tower is more commonly a Perpendicular addition. We can hardly help concluding that the churches had previously been without bells,—the central towers acting simply as internal lanterns,—and that these towers were now added for their reception. This enables us to add to our list, as at least analogous cases, several instances where a western tower was added to a church which had previously possessed only a central bell-cot, as at Llanrhystid in Cardiganshire, and several of the extraordinary towers in Pembrokeshire. At Wanborough, in Wiltshire, we have a western tower added to a church which had previously something between a central bell-cot and a central spire.

In most of these instances, the new tower was built beyond the old nave, so as to destroy any west front that might have previously existed,[2] just as if one were now to add a west tower to Romsey, or

[1] Archæological Proceedings at Norwich, p. 115.

[2] So at Waltham Abbey, after tho Dissolution, a tower was added to the west end of the nave, which remained the parish church, the central lantern having perished with the monastic choir.

St. Cross, or Worcester Cathedral. But at Hereford and Shrewsbury the tower was constructed within the nave,[1] and the like was the case at Malmesbury also. The west front was not only a splendid composition, which the designers of the tower might well be unwilling to deface more than was necessary for their purpose, but it was also of a form peculiarly ill adapted to harmonize with a steeple built outside in the ordinary manner, while it was capable of producing a façade of extreme grandeur in the way which was actually adopted. A tower was accordingly constructed within the nave, the west wall being carried up as the west wall of the tower. So was the south wall also, and that with so little change that the clerestory and cornice underneath it were not disturbed. But, more than this, the way in which the tower was supported appears to have been one of the most daring pieces of temerity on record. At Shrewsbury, an ordinary belfry-arch, with responds of due projection, was thrown across the nave; but at Malmesbury, it seems to have been determined in no wise to interfere with the Decorated clerestory and vault. The square of the tower occupied two bays, so that its eastern wall rose from the point marked by the second pier from the west end. It seems actually to have been supported by an arch thrown across the nave above the vault,[2] while sufficient abutment was sought for in strengthening the wall and the pier. An extra flying-buttress was thrown outwards, and another thrown eastward across the clerestory window; the pier and the arch immediately to the east were also propped by the insertion of additional masonry and a new arch. The tower was thus gained as an external object, without interfering with the internal vista of the nave, or shortening its already not remarkable length.

A huge Perpendicular window was inserted in the west front. It was crossed by transoms during its whole height, like that at Winchester; but, unlike the latter, the arch must have been extremely flat. At the same time, as has been already hinted, a

[1] As, to compare great things with small, at Wood Eaton, Oxon.

[2] While the church had a high roof, this would of course not appear externally.

Perpendicular doorway was also inserted within the great western portal.

The façade was now complete; a tower, flanked by wings terminating in turrets. In the direct west view, it must have presented the same elevation as that of Ely, if the porch were removed and the north transept completed; the difference being, that what at Ely were real transepts, was at Malmesbury a mere screen. The violation of the law of reality was no greater than it had been all along, and the front certainly assumed a more striking and varied outline. But so recklessly does the addition appear to have been made, that one is almost surprised at the account which Leland gives of the church. He calls the abbey "a right magnificent thing," adding, "where were 2 steples; one that had a mightie high pyramis, and felle daungerusly, *in hominum memoriâ*, and sins was not re-edified; it stode in the midle of the transeptum of the chirch, and was a marke to al the countrie aboute. The other yet stondith, a great square toure at the west ende of the church."[1] If the central tower was the original Norman one, we are really surprised, notwithstanding the three centuries' difference in their ages, to find that the earlier tower was the first to fall. Such a piece of foolhardy daring as the western tower might have been expected hardly to have survived till the age of Leland. When it did fall I do not know; but whenever that event took place, it appears to have crushed the whole western portion of the nave, which probably accounts for its ruined state at the present day. The pier underneath the tower on the south side is gone, so that the arcade of the nave is imperfect; on the north side there are no vestiges at all external to the present west end.

Lantern.—In the lantern we find some appearances evidently connected with the fall of the central tower. The rood-screen across the western arch still remains, being now within the present church, and now forming its altar-screen. But its central doorway shows that it was originally a rood-screen and not a reredos, as at

[1] The expressions of Leland seem to assert that the towers co-existed, and consequently to exclude the otherwise conceivable view, that the western tower was built after the fall of the central tower, to supply its place, as at Waltham.

Waltham, Crowland, Binham, consequently, as I said before, that the nave was not originally parochial. But one is tempted to think that the change which wanton destruction brought about at Waltham and Crowland, was brought about at Malmesbury by the accidental fall of the central tower. It would seem that the eastern part of the church, destroyed by that fall, was never rebuilt, and that the monks accommodated themselves as well as they could in the western limb which alone was left them. Or indeed it is not impossible that they migrated when the tower was found to be dangerous, but before it actually fell, for just east of the rood-screen the arch is built up as high as the impost with a solid wall, which appears to be older than the destruction of the eastern part of the church. I ground this belief chiefly on the fact that the masonry up to that height is quite different, and of a much better character than that which blocks the arch itself, which last exactly resembles that with which the arches between the transepts and nave aisles were clearly blocked at the time of the destruction. There are also traces of a string along the eastern face of the wall. I infer that the arch was built up as an attempt to prop up the tower when its dangerous condition was observed. If the Perpendicular rood-screen and Perpendicular vault of the lantern represent any important tampering with the central tower about the time of the erection of the western one,[1] we can better understand the story; namely, that the changes endangered the tower, and that they were reduced to this expedient to stave off for a while the effects of their own work. The western lantern-arch at St. David's was also blocked about the end of the fifteenth century; here also the masonry showed[2] that the blocking of the arch itself was later than the portion below the impost. But there was this difference between the two cases, that at St. David's, as the choir still remained in use, the ordinary passage under the loft was still left open, while at Malmesbury, as the choir was forsaken, the arch was filled up by a dead wall without a doorway.

[1] The Tudor badges on the screen fix its date to some time since 1485.

[2] This portion has been re-opened.

Smaller Perpendicular changes.—During the Perpendicular period some smaller alterations also took place. Tracery was inserted in the Norman windows in the same barbarous manner as at Peterborough and Romsey; the cloister seems also to have been of this date; at least, a doorway of this style and a small piece of vaulting remain at the north-east corner of the nave, inserted under the Norman doorway, whose height was probably inconsistent with the Perpendicular roofing. The recasing of the aisle wall prevents any evidence appearing there. It may however have been merely a Perpendicular roof added to an earlier cloister, as the doorway and the arrangement of the windows show that a cloister had existed in this position from the first erection of the present church.

Ecclesiology, &c.—I have already mentioned those features in the ecclesiology of the church which are directly connected with its architecture. I may also mention the two stone screens at the east ends of the aisles, of Perpendicular date, but with Decorated tracery. There is also a projection in one of the bays of the triforium in the south side, but much too small for a minstrels' gallery; it was probably a watching-place of some kind.

General aspect.—The abbey is seen very well from most points; the south side, that on which the town lies, has a good-sized churchyard, while towards the north all is open country. There is a steep slope almost immediately to the north,—it must have been immediately to the north of the cloister,—and from the rising ground opposite the effect is exceedingly good. The excess of height comes out here most conspicuously; when the towers and the high roof existed, the effect must have been utterly unlike the long and comparatively low naves of most of our Norman minsters. The open lantern-arch also shows well, and the whole groups pleasingly with the old house to the north-east which contains portions of the conventual buildings. But I am not quite sure whether the arch does not show to still better effect in the ascent of the steep hill in the principal street of the town, rising over the adjoining houses, and grouping with the ancient market-cross.

The ruins of the old parish church, which I have already mentioned, partly stand as usual near the abbey. Its steeple, a

Perpendicular tower and broach, still remain perfect, and since the fall of the western tower, has acted as a campanile to the abbey.

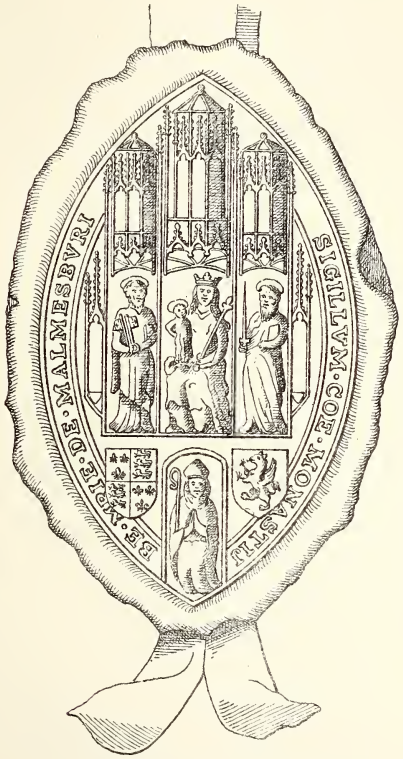
EDWARD A. FREEMAN.

Relics of Malmesbury Abbey.

Plate II. SEALS. The Convent Seal, as appendant to a Deed of the last Abbot in the Augmentation Office. It represents the B. V. Mary and child, between St. Peter and St. Paul. Below is an Abbot. On the dexter, the shield of France and England; sinister, a griffin segreant. To whom the latter refers is uncertain: but as one of the principal Inns in the town bore in Aubrey's time the sign of "The Griffin," it was probably the device of some patron or benefactor. This seal has been engraved in Moffatt's Malmesbury, p. 97, in Bowles's Bremhill, p. 83, in Coney's Seals of Monasteries, and (very inaccurately) in "British Topography," the inscription being omitted, and a lion substituted for a griffin. The legend is "Sigillum Commune Monasterii Beate Marie de Malmesburi." (The common seal of the Monastery of St. Mary of Malmesbury.)

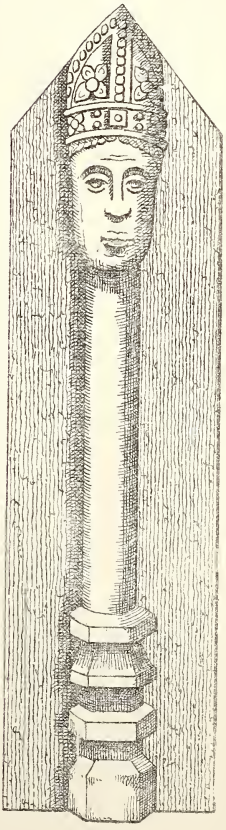
A secretum or private seal, used by Thomas (Abbot?) of Malmesbury, whose name it bears. There were two or three Abbots named Thomas, so that it is difficult to assign the seal to any particular individual.

A very curious seal, found 26 years ago by a man felling a tree near Malmesbury, being shaken out from among the roots. It now belongs to Mr. William Morris of Swindon. The legend is ✠ IE SU · SEL · DEGESE · E IOLIS · E LEL., old French, signifying "I am a seal,

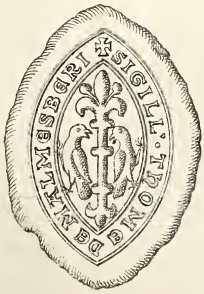


Seal of Malmesbury Abbey, from an impression in the Chapter House, Westminster.

Seal found at Malmesbury.

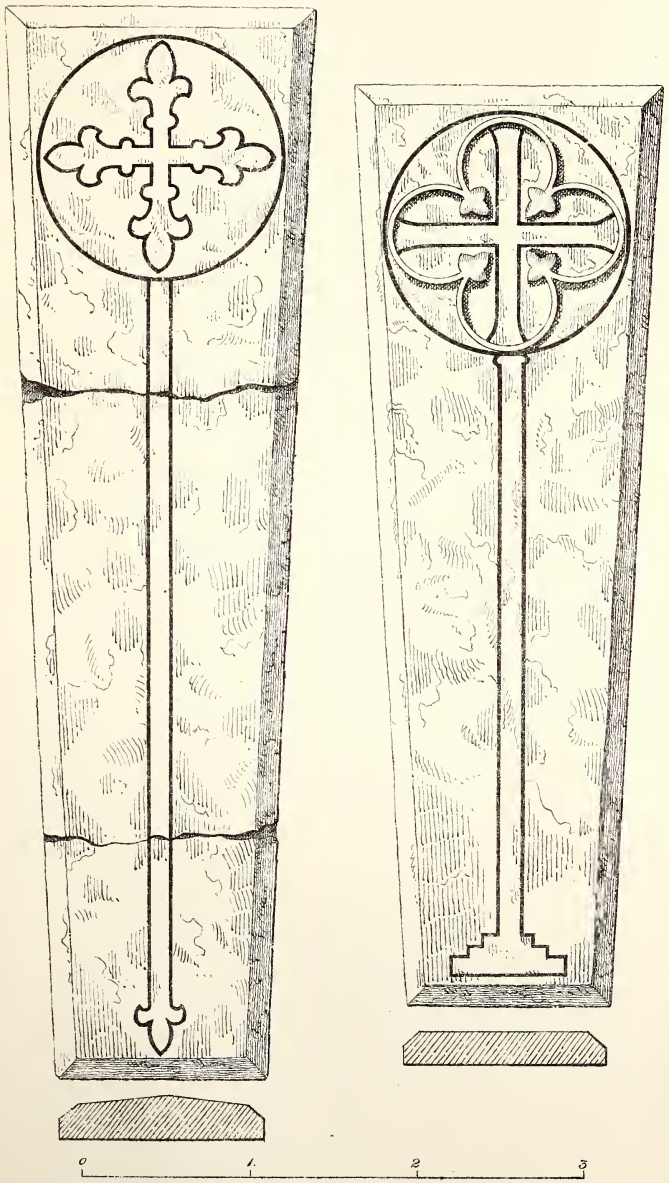


Oak carving in possession of P. Audley Lovell Esq: (see p: 10)



Seal of Thomas, Prior of Malmesbury.

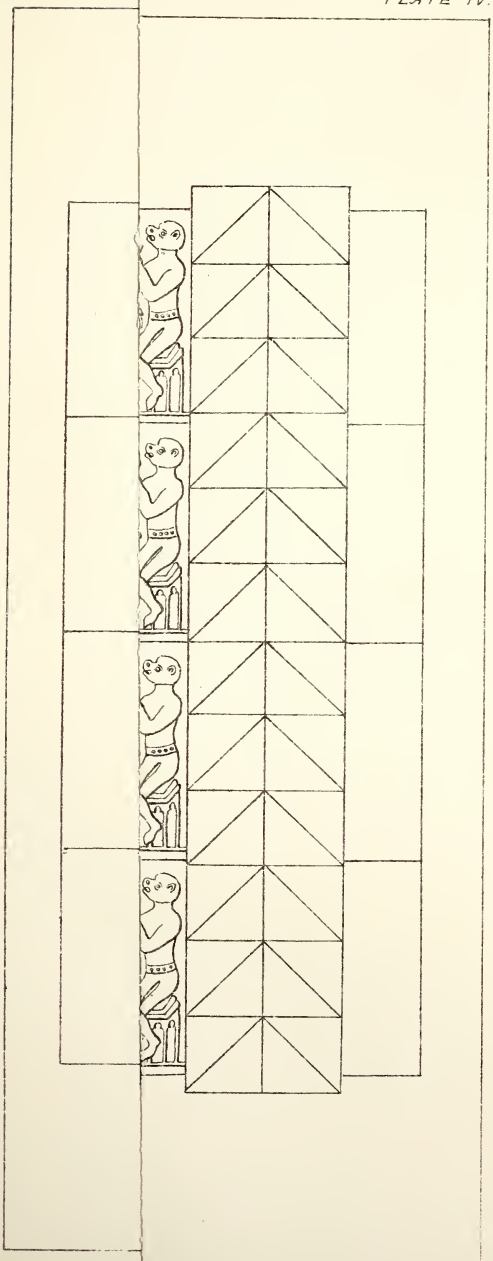
Edw: Rix, del. Manasti



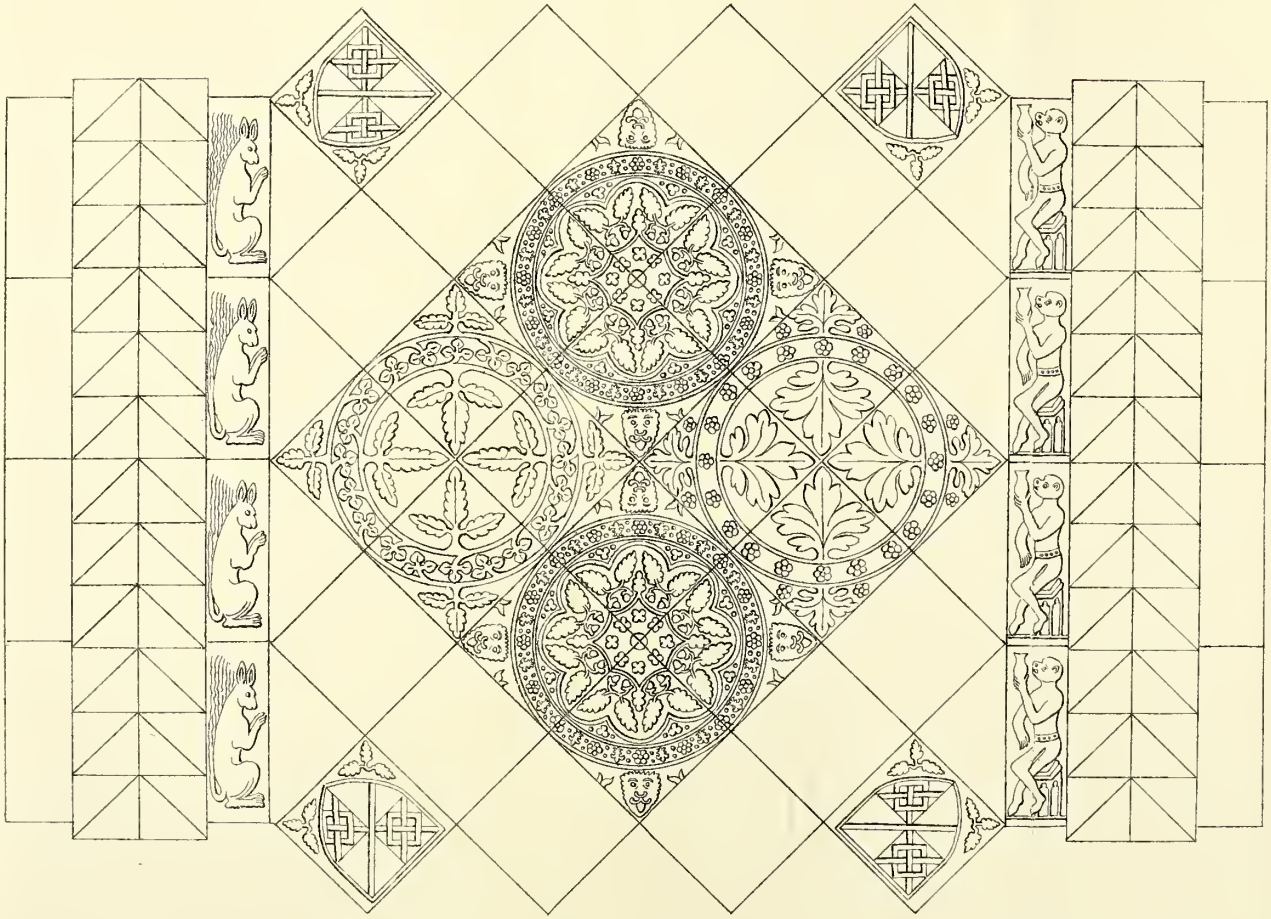
Edw. Kite, del.et lith.

INCISED COFFIN-LIDS, FOUND ON THE SITE OF MALMESBURY ABBEY;
and now preserved at the Church.

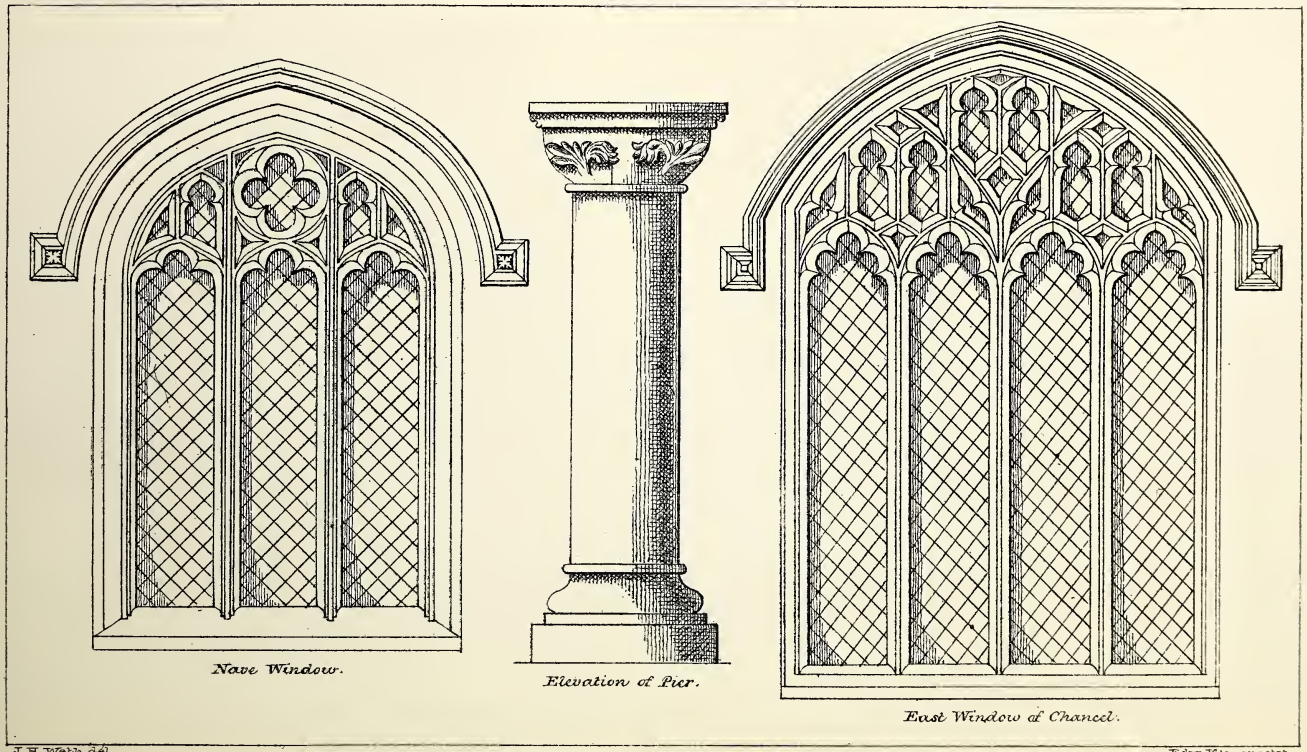
PLATE IV.



Edw. Kite, del. Manastar



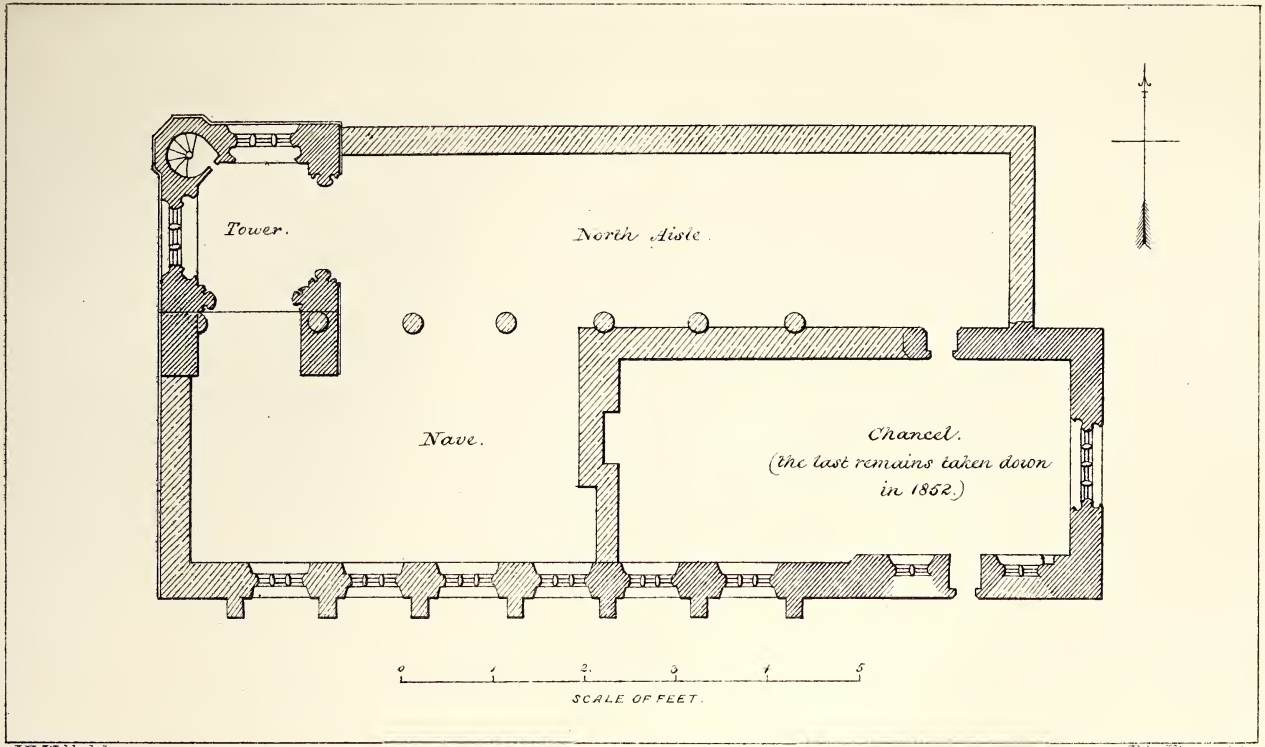
REMAINS OF TILE PAVING IN MALMESBURY ABBEY CHURCH, 1863



J. H. Webb, del.

Edw. Kite, anastat.

DETAILS OF ST PAUL'S CHURCH, MALMESBURY (destroyed).



J. H. Webb, del.

Edw. Kite, anastat.

GROUND PLAN OF ST PAUL'S CHURCH, MALMESBURY *all, except the Tower, destroyed.*

disguised and pretty and true." Mr. Albert Way, to whom we are obliged for the explanation, observes that by "disguised" is probably meant, of secret and mysterious import. On other seals of the same class and period—the latter part of the 14th century,—where there is some device of quaint monstrosity, the words IE SU DEGISE are met with. "Lel," truthful, faithful or loyal, is a favourite word on seals: as, IE SU SEL DE AMUR LEL. The device is a Saracen's head with a lion sleeping underneath it.

Plate III. Incised Covering Slabs, found on the site of the Abbey, and now preserved in a corner of the church.

Plate IV. Encaustic Tiles. Of the pavement that once covered the floor of the church very few fragments have been preserved. There is a specimen in the vestry, from which our plate is taken. In the four corners are the arms of Despencer. At the Rectory house, Dauntesey, there was a few years ago, a tile with the arms of Clare. Mr. W. Colborne of Chippenham has one with 3 lions rampant: and in Mr. J. G. Nichols's "Examples of Decorative Tiles" one of the vignettes is from a Malmesbury pattern. See also a plate in Gent. Mag., December 1837.

St. Paul's Church.

Plates V. and VI. To that very worthy protector of all curiosities found about the Abbey Church, Mr. Jeremiah Webb, Parish Clerk of Malmesbury, we are much indebted for the use of some drawings made by him a few years ago of St. Paul's Church, now (excepting the tower) not to be seen.

Donations to the Museum and Library.

The Council feel great pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of the following Donations presented to the Society:

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H. BULL, Printer and Publisher, Devizes.

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No. XXIII. OCTOBER, 1863. Vol. VIII.

THE WILTSHIRE Archæological and Natural History MAGAZINE,

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THE

WILTSHIRE MAGAZINE.

"MULTORUM MANIBUS GRANDE LEVATUR ONUS."—*Ovid.*

The Flora of Wiltshire,

COMPRISING THE

Flowering Plants and Ferns indigenous to the County;

By THOMAS BRUGES FLOWER, M.R.C.S., F.L.S., &c., &c.

No. VII.

ORDER. LEGUMINOSÆ. (JUSS.)

THIS order is so called because composed of plants, whose fruit is a *legumen* or pod like a pea.

The 17th class of Linnæus' artificial system (Diadelphia, from *dis*, twice, and *adelphus* brother, two brotherhoods, or twice related) is founded on the stamens being united by their filaments into two sets, as in Vetch, Trefoil, &c. Plants having ten stamens united in this manner into two sets, have flowers somewhat resembling a butterfly, whence they are called Papilionaceous from *Papilio* a butterfly.

As the Furze *(Ulex)* and some other plants, possess flowers of this kind, they are by Linnæan Botanists included in the same class *(Diadelphia)* although their stamens are united into only *one* set, which consequently renders them not truly Diadelphous. This is one of the many instances of the defects of this celebrated system, which, being professedly artificial, is in its details often inconsistent with its own fundamental principles. The advocates of this system have urged the propriety of Linnæus' arrangement in this particular, on the ground that it combines the genera according to their *natural affinities*, whilst, on the other hand, they tolerate the placing Sophora, and other Papilionaceous genera, having ten stamens, in the 10th class (Decandria) merely because

the stamens are all separate, although these genera possess all the *natural* and efficient characters that those writers profess to warrant them in placing Ulex in the class Diadelphia! So difficult is it for us to be consistent when wedded to a system, and when we view nature through the false medium of our prejudices.

Ulex, (Linn.) Furze, Gorse, or Whin.
Linn. Cl. xvii. Ord. iii.

Name. From *ac* in Celtic *a point*, in reference to the prickly branches.

1. U. *Europæus* (Linn.) European or Common Furze. *Engl. Bot. t.* 742.

Locality. On downs, dry barren fields, and pastures, also in hedges, and waste places, by roadsides, &c., in most parts of the county. *Sh. Fl. February, June,* and partially throughout the year.[1] *Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *Common in all the Districts.*[2]

"The golden furze, unprofitably gay"—so sang the bard with more of harmony than truth. Its domestic uses are numerous, and to the inhabitants of many parts of considerable importance. In the economy of nature who shall estimate its value? And is it nothing to contribute to the sum of human enjoyment by exciting the most pleasurable sensations in the minds of those who are capable of appreciating the Protean beauties of the vegetable creation? Its gayness is surely not "unprofitable" if it lead to serious contemplation, and thus bring the creature into communion with the Creator through the medium of His works. The immortal Linnæus, on his first arrival in this country, was so struck with its glorious appearance, as, when in bloom it adorned the breast of the otherwise barren heath (Putney) with masses of

[1] The almost endless succession of flowers on this well-known shrub gave occasion to the proverb, When furze is out of blossom kissing's out of season. An early if not quite total suspension of flowering takes place however after Midsummer till the seed pods are matured, when a succession of blossoms commences afresh, which in diminished numbers continue to deck the branches till the following spring again clothes them in their richest attire.

[2] "I never saw taller or more flourishing English furzes than at Chalke. The Great Duke of Thuscany carried furzes out of England for a rarity in his magnificent garden." *Aubrey's Nat. Hist. of Wilts, p.* 53.

living gold that he alighted and, falling on his knees, poured forth his soul in praise to the beneficent Creator. By the peasantry of Ireland, furze is converted to many useful purposes. When bruised to crush the spines, and cut small, it is used either alone or mingled with hay, as fodder for horses and horned cattle. When mingled with the mud of which the walls of their comfortless cabins are constructed, it gives the necessary strength to the walls, and spread on the roofs it occasionally helps to make up the imperfect thatch for these wretched habitations. "As it is in some respects a hardy plant, it serves for fences on the bleaker mountains, and close to the sea-side, where the spray of the sea kills almost every other shrub: but it is impatient of cold, is often killed by severe frost, and is scarcely found in the northern parts of our island. In Cornwall where fuel is scarce, and where it grows to the height of 6 or 8 feet, it is cultivated to advantage, and is generally cut to make fagots for heating ovens, which it does very soon, burning rapidly and with a great degree of heat." The Irish peasantry also use it as fuel. As its ashes contain a considerable quantity of alkali, they are used to make ley. The ass, as well as goats, sheep, cows, and horses, feed upon the tender tops. It was with this plant that the late Sir James Edward Smith, commenced the study of Botany. "I became desirous at the age of eighteen," says this excellent Botanist "of studying Botany as a science. The only book I could then procure was Berkenout: Hudson's *Flora* having become extremely scarce. I received Berkenout on the 9th of January, 1778, and on the 11th began with infinite delight to examine the *Ulex Europæus*, the only plant then in flower. I then first comprehended the nature of systematic arrangement and the Linnæan principles, little aware that at that instant the world was losing the great genius, who was to be my future guide, for Linnæus died in the night of January the 11th, 1778." Vide Tr. Linn. Soc. v. vii., p. 299. "After the decease of the younger Linnæus in 1783, Sir James Smith purchased the Museum, books, &c., of the immortal Swede. Since the death of Sir James" which took place on the 17th of March, 1828, "they have become the property of the

Linnæan Society—a society formed under the immediate auspices of Sir James, its first President. Of this enthusiastic and learned Botanist, we can truly say with Sprengel, that he proved himself dignissimus Linnæi hæres."

2. U. *nanus* (Forst) dwarf Autumnal Furze. *Engl. Bot. t.* 743.

Locality. On dry sandy heaths, and commons. Rare. *Sh. Fl. August, November. Area,* 1. 2. * 4. *

South Division.

1. *South-east District,* "Alderbury Common," *Mr. James Hussey.* "Heaths near the old canal Waddon," *Mr. W. H. Hatcher.*

2. *South Middle District,* Salisbury Plain.

North Division.

4. *North-west District,* Bowden Hill[1] and Bowood.

Very local in the county. I hesitate to quote *all* the localities sent me, many of my correspondents having mistaken stunted examples of U. *Europæus,* for the present species, hence doubts arise in tracing its distribution.

"A form of U. *nanus* (U. *Gallii* of Planchon) occurs in Spye Park, (*District* 4) which is remarkable for its much larger size, upright mode of growth and much stronger spines approaching in all these points to U. *Europæus,* from which however it differs in all the essential characters of the species." *(Fl. Bath.)*

GENISTA, (LINN.) GREENWEED.
Linn. Cl. xvii. Ord. iii.

Name. The Broom of Latin authors, from *Gen,* said by Theis to mean a *Shrub* in Celtic.

1. G. *tinctoria* (Linn.) dyer's Greenweed, Wood Waxen, *Tinctorius* signifying of, or belonging to dyers, from *tinctus* dyed, the plant yields a yellow dye. *Engl. Bot. t.* 208.

Locality. Pastures, thickets, and borders of fields. *Sh. Fl. July, September. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

South Division.

1. *South-east District,* "Wood near West Dean, abundantly,"

[1] "I never saw such dwarft furzes as at Bowden Parke; they did but just peep above the ground." *Aubrey's Nat. Hist. of Wilts, p.* 53.

Dr. Maton. Hatcher's History of Salisbury. "Alderbury," *Mr. James Hussey.* "Whiteparish," *Rev. E. Simms.*

2. *South Middle District,* Pastures at Trowbridge, Seend, and Devizes.

3. *South-west District,* "Fields going to Rodden, near Corsley," *Miss Griffith.* "Warminster and Heytesbury," *Messrs. Wheeler & Rowden.*

North Division.

4. *North-west District,* "Near Spye Park," *Mr. Broome.* "Giddy Hall, near Biddeston, and at Puckridge near Chippenham, *Dr. Alexander Prior.* "Between Conkwell and Farleywick," *Flor. Bath.* "Kingsdown," *Dr. Davis.* Wet pastures between South Wraxhall and the Horse and Jockey. About Melksham and Sandridge Hill.

5. *North-east District,* Canal bank between Swindon and Purton. "Great Bedwin," *Mr. William Bartlett.*

More or less scattered throughout the county, and sometimes attaining the height of one or two feet. The whole plant is bitter and communicates its flavour to the milk of cows feeding in pastures where it abounds. All parts of this plant and especially the branches and leaves, have long been used by dyers for producing yellow, especially for dyeing wool that is afterwards to be dyed green, with woad, (*Isatis tinctoria*); hence the provincial names.

2. G. *Anglica* (Linn.) English Greenweed, Needle Furze, or Petty Whin. *Engl. Bot. t.* 132.

Locality. Moist heaths, and moory ground. Rare. *Sh. Fl. May, June. Area,* 1. * * * *

South Division.

1. *South-east District,* "Alderbury Common," *Dr. Maton,* and *Mr. James Hussey.* "Whiteparish," *Rev. E. Simms.*

Further localities for this species in Wilts, are particularly desired. This plant formerly grew, in some abundance on "Trowle and Road Commons," likewise at "Birds Marsh," near Chippenham, but we fear it is now destroyed.

SAROTHAMNUS, (Wimm.) BROOM.

Linn. Cl. xvii. Ord. iii.

Named from *saroo* (Greek) to *sweep,* and *thamnus* (Gr.) a *shrub.*

1. S. *scoparius* (Koch.) Broom, or Besom. *Scopæ* (in the plural), is Lat. for a broom, probably because often made of the plant called *scopa*, butcher's broom. Hence the adjective *scoparius* fit for brooms. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1339. *Spartium*, Linn. Smith, *Cytisus* Link.

Locality. Dry gravelly, and sandy soil on hills and heaths, *Shrub, Fl.* May, June. *Area*, 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

South Division.

1. *South-east District.* "Alderbury," *Mr. James Hussey.* "Locally abundant at Landford, but only on the very light sandy soils," *Rev. E. Simms.*

2. *South Middle District.* "Bemerton Heath very luxuriant," *Major Smith.* Near Potterne but probably planted," *Mr. Thomas Coward.* "Westbury," *Mrs. Overbury.*

3. *South-west District,* "In upland sandy spots near Dinton," *Dr. Maton.* "Near Berwick St. John," *Miss L. Griffith.* "Corsley," *Miss Griffith.*

North Division.

4. *North-west District,* "Chippenham," *Dr. Alexander Prior,* and *Mr. C. E. Broome.* "Biddeston," *Miss Ruck,* Bowden, and near the Lodge at Spye Park, and Chittoe Lane abundant.

5. *North-east District,* "Great Bedwyn," *Mr. William Bartlett.*

This beautiful shrub varies greatly in size, according to soil and the degree of shelter afforded by its situation. The flowers are of a deep golden yellow, and larger than those of any other species of the genus, and were the plant not so common in a wild state, it would doubtless be considered the most ornamental. Though it is at present comparatively neglected, yet in former times it was one of very great importance in rural and domestic economy. One of its principal uses both in Britain and on the Continent, is to form brooms or besoms; for which purpose, as the specific name would imply, it appears to have been used from time immemorial.

> "The vagrant artist oft at eve reclines,
> And *Broom's* green shoots, in besoms neat combines."

Formerly it was called *Planta Genista,* and under this name possesses much historical interest, as from hence was derived the word *Plantaganet.* "Gefroi Duke of Anjou, father of our Henry

the Second, was in the practice of wearing a sprig of *Planta Genista* in his cap, or as an old writer quaintly expresses it, "he wore commonly a broom stalk in his bonnet," and from this circumstance he has acquired the name of Plantagenet, which he transmitted to his princely descendants who all bore it from Henry, who has been called the first royal sprig of Genista, down to Richard the Third the last degenerate scion of the plant of Anjou." The Broom is now the badge of the Highland clan Forbes.

The *Irish Broom* of our gardens is the *S. patens* from Portugal, not a native of Ireland. The *Spanish Broom* belongs to the genus *Spartium*. Other shrubs called *Brooms* in our gardens are species of *Cytisus*.

Ononis, (Linn.) Rest-harrow or Cammock.
Linn. Cl. xvii. Ord. iii.

Name. From *onos* (Gr.) an Ass, because only asses would feed upon so prickly a plant. Rest-harrow is a corruption of *arrest*, that is stop, *harrow;* from the long and deeply seated roots, opposing a serious impediment to the plough or harrow.

1. C. *arvensis* (Linn.) Common Rest-harrow. *Engl. Bot. Suppl. t.* 2659. C. *repens* (Koch).

Locality. Borders of fields, waysides, and barren pastures. *P. Fl. June, September. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

In all the Districts, usually without spines, and less frequent in Wilts than the next species.

2. C. *campestris* (Koch) Thorny Rest-harrow. *Engl. Bot. t.* 682. *Baxter Brit. Flor. Pl. vol.* iv. *t.* 289. C. *antiquorum,* Bentham (not Linnæus). C. spinosa (Koch).

Locality. Barren places, roadsides, pastures on a sandy or marly soil. *P. Fl. June, September. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *Common throughout the county.*

Both the above plants are very variable in their general aspect, but I here follow the "Manual of British Botany" and the accurate Koch in keeping them distinct. The C. *antiquorum* of Linnæus according to Grenier, is distinguished from C. *campestris* (Koch) by more slender and flexuous stems, which have not the hairy

alternate lines of C. *antiquorum* (Benth) by the much smaller leaves and flowers, by its legume equalling the calyx, and by its solitary finely tubercled seed.

Medicago, (Linn.) Medic.

Linn. Cl. xvii. Ord. iii.

Name. *Medica* was some kind of trefoil introduced into Greece by the Persians or Medes, the termination *ago* signifies resemblance, whence Tournefort gave the name *Medicago* to this plant.

1. M. *lupulina* (Linn.) Hop like Medic. *Humulus Lupulus* is the hop, to the cones of which the flower-heads of our present species bear some resemblance. *Engl. Bot. t.* 971.

Locality. Common in waste ground, meadows, pastures, and cultivated fields. *A. Fl. May, August.* *Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *General in all the Districts.*

Habit like that of *Trifolium filiforme,* but distinguished from the latter by its dense ovate spikes, and curved naked black legumes. It is much esteemed by some of the farmers in Wilts, and occasionally sown with other crops.

2. M. *maculata* (Sibth) Spotted Medick, Heart Medick. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1616.

Locality. Fields and pastures on a gravelly soil. *A. Fl. May, June.* *Area,* 1. * * * *

South Division.

1, *South-east District,* "Alderbury Common," *Mr. James Hussey.*

The only locality at present recorded for this plant in Wilts. It should be looked for in the southern parts of the county. *Leaflets* marked with a purple spot in the centre.

3. M. *sativa* (Linn.) cultivated or purple Medic Lucerne. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1749.

Locality. Borders of fields on which it is cultivated, especially on dry calcareous soils. *P. Fl. June, July.* *Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *Naturalized in the county.*

This species was introduced into England from France about the year 1650, and is considered by many superior to clover as fodder. It is said to be the *Medica* of Virgil and other ancient writers on Husbandry.

MELILOTUS, (LAM.) MELILOT.
Linn. Cl. xvii. Ord. iii.

Name. An ancient name of the plant and signifies *honey-lotus*, being compounded of *(meli)* Gr. honey, and *(lotos)* Gr. the lotus.

1. M. *officinalis* (Willd.) Officinal or Common Yellow Melilot. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1340. M. *macrorrhiza* Pers. Koch.

Locality. In thickets, hedges, waysides, and borders of fields, sometimes among corn. *A. Fl. June, July. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *General in all the Districts.*

It differs from the genus *Trifolium* in the flowers being produced in a loose raceme, not in a head or close spike, and in the *legume* being longer than the calyx, not shorter. The whole plant has a peculiar scent, which becomes more fragrant in a dry state, having some resemblance to that of new hay, or that of "*Anthoxanthum odorátum.*" The odoriferous principle is very fugacious, and was asserted by Vogel to be benzoic acid, but according to Guihourt it is "*Conmarine,*" the odoriferous principle of the Tonquin or Tonqua Bean, "*Dipterix odorata.*" The peculiar flavour of the Gruyere cheese is due to the seeds and flowers of this plant which are bruised and mixed with the curd before it is pressed.

["M. *arvensis*" (Willd.) *Engl. Bot. Suppl. t.* 2960. M. officinalis (Koch) should be looked for in the county.]

TRIFOLIUM, (LINN.) TREFOIL.[1]
Linn. Cl. xvii. Ord. iii.

Name. From (treis) Gr. three, and *(phullon)* Gr. a leaf, descriptive of its ternate leaves, or from the Latin *tri*, three, and *folium* leaf.

1. T. *pratense* (Linn.) Meadow Trefoil, Common Purple Clover, Honey-suckle Trefoil. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1770, *St.* 15, 11.

Locality. In meadows and pastures, especially on a limestone, or gravelly soil. *P. Fl. May, September. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *Common in all the Districts.*

This species is well known to the farmer as one of the most valuable *artificial grasses,* as they are called, for fodder or hay, as it

[1] This genus is readily distinguished from the *Medicks* and *Trigonels* by the pod, from the *Melilots* by the compact heads of flowers.

yields a larger crop than any other sorts. In general appearance "T. *pratense*" is very like "T. *medium*," (not as yet *observed* in Wilts.) Afzelius in his most elaborate paper in the "Linnæan Transactions", has clearly distinguished them. The root is creeping and more uniformly perennial in cultivation. The *stems* are zigzag and more branched. *Stipulas* longer, linear, tapering to a point and stand parallel to each other. *Heads* of *flowers* rather larger and less dense. *Calyx* slightly hairy except in the mouth, its two upper teeth shortest, the rest gradually but not very strikingly longer. *Leaflets* elliptical, various in width, a little glaucous underneath, chiefly hairy at the margin.

2. T. *arvense* (Linn.) Hares-foot Trefoil, called by old authors *lagopus* or hares-foot, from (*lagos*) a hare, and (*pous*) a foot, from its dense soft spikes somewhat resembling a hare's foot. *Engl. Bot. t.* 944. *St.* 16, 3.

Locality. Cultivated and waste ground on gravel, also in sandy fields not unfrequent. *A. Fl. July, September. Area,* 1. * 3. 4. 5.

South Division.

1. *South-east District,* Sandy fields near Pewsey.

3. *South-west District,* "Corsley," *Miss Griffith.*

North Division.

4. *North-west District,* "Chippenham," *Dr. Alexander Prior.* "Tytherton," *Mr. Coward.*

5. *North-east District,* Swindon. "Great Bedwyn," *Mr. William Bartlett.* Probably not uncommon in many parts of the county.

Flowers small in pedunculate heads which are at first nearly globular but soon become oblong or cylindrical, six to nine lines long, appearing very soft and feathery, owing to the fine hairy teeth of the calyx projecting beyond the very small corolla.

[T. *striatum* (Linn.) and T. *scabrum* (Linn.) have both been reported to grow in Wilts, the former near Westbury, (*District* 2) the latter at Market Lavington, (*District* 2.) There appears nothing unlikely in the occurrence of these species in the county, but it would be desirable to have well authenticated specimens with their localities recorded for these plants, because the two are not unfrequently mistaken for each other.]

3. T. *subterraneum* (Linn.) subterraneous Trefoil. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1048.

Locality. Dry sandy ground and gravelly places. Rare. *A. Fl. May, June. Area*, 1. 2. * * *

South Division.

1. *South-east District*, "In plenty on the higher and drier parts of Alderbury Common," *Dr. Maton* and *Mr. James Hussey.*

2. *South Middle District*, "Sandy roadsides near Market Lavington," *Miss Meredith.*

This Trefoil is so named from the remarkable property possessed by the calyces of the abortive flowers of burying themselves in the sand, and thus anchoring as it were and detaining the seeds of the fertile flowers. Smith in his "English Flora," gives the following description of this curious process. "Flowers three or four on each stalk at first erect, but before the fruit is perfected each stalk is bent to the earth, throwing out from its extremity between the flowers several thick white fibres starry at their tips, which partly fix themselves in the ground, turning upwards to embrace the fruit."

4. T. *repens* (Linn.) Creeping Trefoil, White or Dutch Clover. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1769. *St.* 15. C.

Locality. Meadows, pastures, and waste ground, common. *P. Fl. May, September. Area*, 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *General in all the Districts.*

Wherever this plant abounds spontaneously it is always considered as an indication of the goodness of the soil, and this is well known to farmers. The richness of meadows and pastures is naturally owing to their abounding principally with the Trefoil, and others of the same class, with a due mixture of the more acceptable grasses. In fact, clovers like grasses play a most important part in restoring fertility to land which has been exhausted by grain crops. Their leaves gather food, carbonic acid and ammonia, from the atmosphere ,which they store up in their roots and stems, and these on decomposing afford food for cereals or other crops, which are more dependent on a supply within the soil. In Ireland "*Trifolium repens*" is believed to be of comparatively recent introduction, although it is now taken as the national emblem in

substitution of the *wood-sorrel (Oxalis)* which was the original shamrock.

[5. T. *ornithopodioides* (Linn.) Birds-foot Trefoil. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1047, has been observed on the side of Roundway Hill, near Netherstreet *(North-west District)* by *Miss Meredith.*

The only *locality* at present recorded for Wiltshire. This species rarely occurs inland, its favourite localities being dry gravelly places near the Coast. I should be obliged to any correspondent for specimens.]

6. T. *fragiferum* (L.) Strawberry Trefoil, so called from *fraga* (Lat.) strawberries, and *fero* (Lat.) to bear: the heads when in seed much resembling those fruits. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1050. *St.* 16, 8. *Locality.* Damp pastures, on peat or clay, not unfrequent. *P. Fl. July, August. Area,* 1. * * 4. 5.

South Division.

1. *South-east District,* "Alderbury," *Mr. James Hussey.* "Amesbury," *Dr. Southby.*

North Division.

4. *North-west District,* "Chippenham," *Dr. Alexander Prior.* "Damp fields at Bromham," *Miss Meredith.* In the lane leading from Bromham to the "New Inn," Seend.

5. *North-east District,* About Swindon and Purton. "Great Bedwyn," *Mr. William Bartlett.*

The heads of flowers nearly globose in flower, but completely so in fruit are then an inch in diameter, and often more or less coloured, so as not unaptly to represent a strawberry.

7. T. *procumbens* (L.) procumbent or Hop Trefoil, the dense many flowered heads resembling hops when in fruit. *Engl. Bot. t.* 945. *St.* 15, 15.

Locality. Dry pastures and borders of fields. *A. Fl. June, August. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *Not unfrequent in all the Districts.* This is well distinguished from the following by its large dense hop-like *heads of flowers,* and the *standard* which is striated when old.

8. T. *minus* (Sm.) Lesser Hop Trefoil. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1256. T. *filiforme* (Koch.)

Locality. Sandy and gravelly soil. *A. Fl. June, August. General in all the Districts*, especially on the downs. Very near the last species but more slender and procumbent, the flowers smaller in a head and of a paler colour, the standard not so broad, more folded, and only faintly striated.

9. T. *filiforme* (Linn.) Slender Trefoil, so called from the thread like flower stalks, *filum* signifying a thread, and *forma* form. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1257. T. *micranthum* (Koch.)

Locality. Dry pastures, roadsides, common on the downs. *A. Fl. June, July. Area*, 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *In all the Districts.*

Doubts have been entertained by many botanists whether this and the preceding species are essentially distinct. I would here however quote the valuable remarks of my friend Mr. William Wilson of Warrington, who has narrowly watched both plants for several years past. "T. *filiforme*" he says, "may easily be recognized by its more truly procumbent or prostrate habit, its deep yellow almost fulvous flowers, and its dark green foliage. The common stalk of the leaves is always very short, about half as long as the stipules. The corolla does not 'become tawny as the seed ripens' but turns very pale, and owing to the narrowness of the petals and especially of the standard (which is deeply emarginate) the legume or fruit as it ripens becomes quite conspicuous; whereas in *T. minus* it is entirely covered and concealed by the faded, deflexed, and scariose standard twice as broad as in *T. filiforme* and furrowed. The diligent observer will find other points of difference which I forbear to enumerate. I have sought in vain for intermediate states, and fully believe that the two species may be identified, if only a single flower of each be produced for that purpose."

Lotus, (Linn.) Birds-foot Trefoil.

Linn. Cl. xvii. Ord. iii.

Name. From *Lotos* (Gr.) of Theophrastus and Dioscorides, but the true *Lotus* is *Zizyphus Lotus*. The name perhaps is of Egyptian origin.

1. L. *corniculatus*[1] (Linn.) Horned or Common Birds-foot Trefoil. *Engl. Bot. t.* 2090.

Locality. In meadows, pastures, dry banks, and roadsides, abundant. *P. Fl. June, September. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *Common in all the Districts.*

There are scarcely any of our native plants more ornamental than this, decorating our grassy banks with its rich golden yellow coronet of flowers, the structure of which will amply repay the close observer. Its habit varies greatly according to soil and aspect. A variety *β. villosus* in which the pubescence is long and spreading, instead of adpressed is sometimes met with in the county.

2. L. *tenuis* (Sm.) slender narrow-leaved Birds-foot Trefoil. *Engl. Bot. Suppl. t.* 2615.

Locality. Pastures, dry banks, and borders of fields on clay. *P. Fl. June, August. Area,* * * * 4. *

North Division.

4. *North-west District,* Pastures between Box and Colerne. "Road from Kingsdown to Wraxhall, and in lane between the Horse and Jockey, and Wraxhall," *Dr. Alexander Prior.*

By many botanists considered merely a variety of the last, but under garden culture it has kept itself distinct. Mr. H. C. Watson informs me he has failed to change the one into the other, after planting the roots in dry ground and raising the former species afresh *from* seeds, two or three times. It is generally found growing in company with *Trifolium medium,* and *Genista tinctoria.*

3. L. *major* (Scop. ?) Greater Birds-foot Trefoil. *Engl. Bot. t.* 2091. L. *uliginosus* Schkuhr.

Locality. Moist bushy places, and sides of ditches, by no means unfrequent. *P. Fl. July, August. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

More or less distributed *in all the Districts throughout Wilts.* but not so frequent as L. *corniculatus,* of which it was formerly considered a large variety. The late Dr. Beeke the worthy

[1] This species is frequently called "Fingers and Thumbs" by the Wiltshire peasantry.

Dean of Bristol, was I believe the first to point out the distinguishing character in the calyx, viz. *that its teeth are always divergent, from their first visible formation.*

Anthyllis, (Linn.) Ladys' Finger Vetch.
Linn. Cl. xvii. Ord. iii.

Name. From *anthos* Gr. a *flower*, *ioulos* Gr. *down*, in reference to the flowers being usually downy.

1. A. *vulneraria* (Linn.) Vulnerary Anthyllis, Kidney Vetch, from *vulnus* (Lat.) a wound, which it is supposed to be good for—the downy calyces having been recommended as a substitute for lint. Lady's Finger Vetch in allusion to the pinnate leaves or calyces. *Engl. Bot. t.* 104. *St.* 49, 4, 5.

Locality. In fields and pastures, on a chalky or limestone soil. *P. Fl. May, August. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

South Division.

1. *South-east District,* "Abundantly on the hills immediately around Salisbury," *Dr. Maton,* and *Mr. James Hussey.*

2. *South Middle District,* "Chalk hills about Westbury," *Mrs. Overbury.* "Heytesbury," *Mr. Rowden.*

3. *South-west District,* Downs about Warminster and Hindon.

North Division.

4. *North-west District,* "Neighbourhood of Chippenham," *Dr. Alexander Prior,* and *Mr. C. E. Broome.*

5. *North-east District,* Dry hilly pastures at Roundway. "Great Bedwyn," *Mr. William Bartlett.*

There is a variety of this plant with a *red,* and another with a *white* or *cream coloured flower,* both of which should be looked for in Wilts. Linnæus observes, that "in Oeland where the soil is a red calcareous clay, the flowers of '*Anthyllis vulneraria*' are red, but that in Gothland where the soil is white, the flowers also are white." In England they are usually yellow. Gesner it seems first raised the report of the vulnerary properties of this plant, which perhaps like other soft and downy applications, may on an emergency staunch the blood of rustic wounds, and give nature and a good constitution time to perfect a cure.

ASTRAGALUS, (LINN.) MILK-VETCH.

Linn. Cl. xviii. Ord. iii.

Name. Probably from the seeds of some species taking a conical form by mutual pressure in the pod, and thus resembling *(Astragaloi)* dice.

1. A. *hypoglottis* (Linn.) Tongue under Tongue, or purple Milk Vetch. So called from *(hypo)* under, and *(glotta)* a tongue, in reference to the shape of the pods which bear some resemblance to a tongue. *Engl. Bot. t.* 274.

Locality. Open chalky and gravelly pastures, Rare. *P. Fl. June, July. Area,* 1. * * * *

South Division.

1. *South-east District,* "Near Bulford," *Dr. Southby.* "On the downs between Netheravon and Tidworth, growing in large patches," *Miss Talbot.*

An interesting addition to the Flora of Wilts, first observed I believe by Dr. Southby of Bulford, subsequently by Miss Talbot. This species is likewise included in a list of plants, observed near Roundway *(North-west District)*, by Mr. Thomas Coward: from this station I have seen no specimen.

2. A. *glycyphyllos* (Linn.) sweet Milk-Vetch, or Liquorice Vetch, so called from *(glukus)* sweet, and (*phullon*) a leaf, the leaf having a pleasant taste in the mouth but changing to bitter. *Engl. Bot t.* 203.

Locality. Thickets on a chalky or gravelly soil. *P. Fl. June. Area,* 1. * 3. 4. 5.

South Division.

1. *South-east District,* "Clarendon Woods," *Dr. Maton.* "*Bot. Guide.*" "In a hedge at West Dean," *Major Smith.*

3. *South-west District,* "Neighbourhood of Warminster," *Messrs. Wheeler & Rowden.*

North Division.

4. *North-westDistrict,* In the wood by the New Quarry near Conkwell. "Common in woods about Slaughterford, Rudlow, and Weevern Mill," *Dr. Alexander Prior.*

5. *North-west District,* Lane leading from Purton to Lydiard Millicent.

Well distinguished by its great size. *Stem* prostrate, two or three feet long. *Leaves* with large ovate acute *stipules.* Flowers dingy yellow.

VICIA, (LINN.) VETCH, TARE.

Linn. Cl. xvii. Ord. iii.

Name. Originally derived according to Theis, from *Gwig,* Celtic, whence also *Wicken* in German. *Bikion* in Greek, *Vesce* in French, and Vetch in English.

1. V. *hirsuta* (Koch) Hairy-podded Tare, Tine Tare. *Engl. Bot. t.* 970. *Ervum* (Sm.) *Cracca Minor* (Godr.)

Locality. In cornfields, hedges and pastures. *A. Fl. June, August. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

General in all the Districts, and frequently proving a very troublesome weed in cornfields. In wet seasons whole crops have been overpowered and wholly destroyed by it, hence it is sometimes called "Strangle Tare."

2. V. *tetrasperma* (Moench) Four-seeded smooth Tare, from (*tetra*) four, and (*sperma*) a seed, each pod usually containing four seeds. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1223. *St.* 32, 14. *Ervum* (Sm.)

Locality. Bushy places, fields and hedges. *A. Fl. June, August. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

Perhaps not so commonly *distributed throughout Wilts* as the preceding species. The red potage for which Esau sold his birthright was made from the seeds of V. *Lens,* and V. *Ervilia* species of this genus, which have long been cultivated in Asia, and the South of Europe. It is still a common dish in the East, and retains the name ('Adas) by which it is denoted in Scripture.

3. V. *sylvatica* (Linn.) Wood Vetch. *Engl. Bot. t.* 79. *St.* 31, 3.

Locality. Woods, hedges, and thickets. Rare. *P. Fl. June, July, and August. Area,* * 2. 3. 4. 5.

South Division.

2. *South Middle District,* "At the *Devices,* Wiltshire," *Mr. Goodyer, Ray's Synop. p.* 322. Not unfrequent in the woods at Drew's Pond.

3. *South-west District,* Woods at Longleat, and the Great Ridge, near Warminster.

North Division.

4. *North-west District,* By the side of the canal under Conkwell Woods opposite Limpley Stoke. Kingsdown Wood; also at Spye Park and Bowood.

5. *North-east District,* "Near Great Bedwyn," *Mr. William Bartlett.*

Not a common species in Wilts, although widely distributed. One of the most elegant of our indigenous plants, and richly deserving a place in our gardens, but unfortunately morbidly impatient of removal from its native habit. Flowers very beautiful, numerous, white, streaked with bluish veins. Stem three to six feet high, climbing by means of its branching tendrils.

4. V. *Cracca* (Linn.) Tufted Wood Vetch. *Cracca* is a word in Pliny to denote a species of Vetch. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1168. *St.* 31, 6.

Locality. In woods, thickets, hedges, and moist bushy places, sometimes in meadows and the dry borders of fields. *P. Fl. June, August, Fr. August, September. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *Frequent in all the Districts.*

5. V. *sepium* (Linn.) Bush Vetch. *Sepium* (of the hedges) is the gen. pl. of *sepes* (Lat.) a hedge. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1515. *St.* 31, 16.

Locality. In woods, thickets, hedges, and moist bushy places. *P. Fl. June, August. Fr. July, August. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *Very commonly distributed.*

6. V. *lutea* (Linn.) Rough-podded Yellow Vetch. *Engl. Bot. t.* 481. *St.* 31, 13.

This rare species was found by the late Dr. Maton some years since in the *South-east District* of the county. I quote the locality from his "Natural History of Wilts," p. 62. "This is usually considered a maritime species, but unless I was greatly misled by the mutilated state of the few plants which I saw, it grows in a stony spot on the hill, near an antient earth-work, called the 'Giant's Chair,' at a short distance from the village of Wick. Mr. Dawson Turner also found it in an inland situation, viz., near Glastonbury Tor." I am not aware that this plant has since been

met with in the above locality. Miss L. Meredith has more recently observed a single example in a grass field between Rowde and Bromham in the *North-west District.*

7. V. *sativa* (Linn.) Common or cultivated Vetch. *Engl. Bot. t.* 334. *St. t.* 31, 10.

Locality. In dry gravelly or sandy pastures, waste and cultivated ground, on banks, along hedges, roadsides, and in woods and bushy places. *A. Fl. May, June. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *In all the Districts,* but probably not indigenous, having long been sown as an early fodder for cattle.

Varieties of this species are occasionally met with in which the leaves become narrower and almost linear, (*Var. β. angustifolia* (Sm.) *and Bobartii* (Forst.) but a careful comparison of many specimens shews them to be connected with each other, and with the common form of *sativa* by such intermediate and insensible gradations, that whether correctly or not, I cannot help considering them as modifications of the same species.

Lathyrus, (Linn.) Vetchling, Everlasting Pea.
Linn. Cl. xvii. Ord. iii.

Name. From *Lathurus* (Gr.) of Theophrastus, which is said to be from *la* (Gr.) augmentative, and *thouros* (Gr.) anything exciting, in reference to the qualities of the seeds.

1. L. *Aph'aca* (Linn.) Yellow Vetchling. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1167.

Locality. Sandy and gravelly fields, not uncommon. *A. Fl. May, August. Area,* 1. * 3. 4. 5.

South Division.

1. *South-east District,* "Near Salisbury," Mr. Winch, (*Watson's Bot. Guide.*) "Common in several places close to Salisbury," *Mr. James Hussey.* "Hedges near Alderbury and Trafalgar," *Major Smith.*

3. *South-west District,* Cornfields at Boyton. "Warminster and Corsley," *Miss Griffith.*

North Division.

4. *North-west District,* Near Bradford, Winsley, and Box. Fields between Rowdeford and Bromham.

5. *North-east District.* In the cornfields about Calne. Not as yet *reported* from (*District* 2) *where* it can scarcely be absent. In this plant all the leaves become tendrils, except the first pair in the young plants which are compound, and have two or three pairs of leaflets. Occasionally an odd leaflet is developed on the tendrils, in a later stage of growth which further indicates the origin of the organ on which it is seated. A provision is made for supplying the want of leaves in this plant, by an unusual development of the stipules, which are so large that they might readily be mistaken for real leaves. All tendrils, however, do not originate in the modification of the leaf, but some are derived from an altered condition of the stipules as in the cucumber; others from a transformation of the branches or peduncles, as in the vine. In fact they may result from any caulinar appendages, which become lengthened out at their extremities into filiform flexible cords, more or less spirally twisted.

2. L. *Nissolia* (Linn.) Nissol's Vetchling, crimson Vetchling, grass Vetchling. Named after Guillaume Nissol, a botanist of Montpellier. *Engl. Bot. t.* 112.

Locality. Pastures, bushy places, and recently cut copses on a stiff soil. *A. Fl. June. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. *

South Division.

1. *South-east District,* "Coppices about Salisbury," (*Bot. Guide.*) "Alderbury," *Mr. James Hussey.*

2. *South Middle District,* Seend Cleeve, and in various places on the banks of the Canal below the village.

3 *South-west District,*" "Warminster and Corsley," *Miss Griffith.* "Borders of a field about two miles from Combe, on the Blandford Road," *Major Smith.*

North Division.

4. *North-west District,* In Mr. Stone's plantations at Winsley, near Bradford. This elegant species may be more frequent throughout Wilts than the above area of distribution indicates, but must be closely sought for, unless in flower, to be detected even by the experienced botanist, on account of the near resemblance of its foliage to that of the grasses among which it grows. The simple

leaves not terminated by tendrils, form a remarkable feature of this plant as contrasted with the rest of the genus, but such differences are simply different degrees of development, and are of frequent occurrence among leguminous plants.

3. L *pratensis* (Linn.) Meadow Vetchling. *Engl. Bot. t.* 670.

Locality. Moist meadows and bushy places, common. *P. Fl. July, August. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *In all the Districts* throughout the county.

4. L. *sylvestris* (Linn.) Wood or Wild Vetchling, Narrow-leaved Everlasting Pea. *Engl. Bot. t.* 805.

Locality. About the hedges of woods and thickets on a dry soil. *P. Fl. July, September. Area,* * * 3. * *

South Division.

3. *South-west District,* "Thickets between Tisbury and Wardour Park," *Major Smith.* "Between Compton and Dinton," *Dr. Maton.*

I have seen no examples from either of the above stations. It would be desirable to have both these localities confirmed afresh by some competent authority.

5. L. *macrorrhizus* (Wimm.) tuberous Bitter Vetch. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1153. *Orobus tuberosus* (Smith).

Locality. In thickets and open woods under hedges, frequent. *P. Fl. May, June. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

South Division.

1. *South-east District,* "Woods near Norman Court," *Major Smith.*

2. *South Middle District,* Woods at Heywood. "Westbury," *Mrs. Overbury.*

3. *South-west District,* "Corsley," *Miss Griffith.* "Woods near Dinton," *Dr. Maton.*

North Division.

4. *North-west District,* Kington St. Michael. Spye Park. "Near Bowden Hill," *Dr. Alexander Prior.*

5. *North-east District,* "Marlborough," *Rev. T. A. Preston.* The roots have a sweetish taste, and afford some luxuries and refreshments to the hardy independent Highlander. There is considerable elegance in the *flowers* and in the plant altogether. The variety

with narrow linear leaflets β. *tenuifolius* (Roth.) has been observed near Marlborough by the *Rev. T. A. Preston.*

Ornithopus, (Linn.) Birds-foot.
Linn. Cl. xvii. Ord. iii.

Name. So called from the cluster of beaded pods resembling *(pous)* the foot, *(ornithos)* of a bird.

1. O. *perpusillus* (Linn.) very small Birds-foot, *pusillus* of itself means small, which with *per* prefixed becomes a superlative. *Engl. Bot. t.* 369.

Locality. Dry sandy and gravelly places. Rare. *A. Fl. May, July. Area,* 1. * 3. 4. *

South Division.

1. *South-east District,* "Alderbury Common," *Major Smith,* and *Mr. James Hussey.*

3. *South-west District,* "On the chalky ridge leading from the walls of Mr. Wyndham's grounds at Salisbury, towards Bishop's-down," *Dr. Maton.* "Five Ash Lane Bishopstrow," *Mr. R. C. Griffith.*

North Division.

4. *North-west District,* Quarry at Bowood. "Sandpits and quarry in Spye Park," *Dr. Alexander Prior.* "*Flor. Bath.*" This elegant little plant is not *frequent* in any of the Districts. The beauty of its flowers when closely examined, and the great resemblance which its curved articulated legumes bear to the claws of a bird, render it an object highly deserving of attention. Sir James Smith observed that when it does not produce legumes, it propagates itself by the grains or tubercles of its root, through in general the root is annual. This genus differs from "*Coronilla*" by the slightly flattened pod, and by the leaf on the peduncle under the flowers.

Hippocrepis, (Linn.) Horse-shoe Vetch.
Linn. Cl. xvii. Ord. iii.

Name. From *hippos* (Gr.) a horse, and *krepis* (Gr.) a shoe, in reference to the shape of the recesses of the pods, which are curved

in such a manner as to give them a likeness to a horse-shoe.

1. H. *comosa* (Linn.) tufted Horse-shoe Vetch. *Engl. Bot. t.* 31.

Locality. Chalk pits, chalky pastures, and dry chalky banks. *P. Fl. May, August. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

South Division.

1. *South-east District,* Frequent about Salisbury and Whiteparish Hill.

2. *South Middle District,* Salisbury Plain more or less distributed.

3. *South-east District,* Hindon Down and Corsley.

North Division.

4. *North-west District,* Conkwell, Slaughterford, Box, Corsham and Roundway Hill.

5. *North-east District,* Marlborough and Great Bedwyn. Locally plentiful but not generally distributed in Wilts. The flowers very much resemble those of "*Lotus corniculatus,*" but the plant may be readily distinguished from that by its pinnated leaves, and its curiously notched legumes, its notches are almost twice as broad as deep, whereas in the foreign "H. *glauca*" they are much wider.

ONOBRYCHIS, (GAERT.) SAINTFOIN, COCK'S-HEAD.
Linn. Cl. xvii. Ord. iii.

Name. From *onos* (Gr.) *an ass,* and *brucho* (Gr.) *to gnaw.* The O. *sativa* being a favourite food with asses, and it is grateful not only to them but to most other cattle.

O. *sativa* (Lam.) cultivated Saintfoin. *Engl. Bot. t.* 96. *St.* 19, 10. *Hedysarum Onobrychis,* (Linn).

Locality. On dry hills, open downs, and borders of fields, on a chalky soil, frequent. *P. Fl. June, July. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *In all the Districts.* A well-known object of cultivation as fodder for cattle, on dry barren especially chalky ground in open situations. It fails where the soil is damp, or the field overshadowed with trees. Having been first introduced to the farmer from France, the plant brought its French name of Saintfoin along with it, and Cock's-head by which it was before known as a native of England is become obsolete.

ORDER. ROSACEÆ. (JUSS. in part.)

PRUNUS, (LINN.) PLUM.

Linn. Cl. xii. Ord. i.

Name. Said to be a word of Asiatic origin, the wild plant according to Galen being called *Proumnos* in Asia. The Greek name for the Plum is prouné: it occurs in Theophrastus.

1. P. *spinosa* (Linn.) Spiny Plum, Sloe-tree, Black-thorn. *Engl. Bot. t.* 842. P. *communis* (Huds.) *a. spinosa. Br. Flor. p.* 116.

Locality. In woods, thickets, hedges, pastures, borders of fields, and by roadsides. *Sh. Fl. March, April, May, Fr. September, October. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *Distributed everywhere throughout the county.* A low spreading shrub difficult to distinguish from the following. It is much smaller in all its parts, and the branches are more crooked, and spinous. The fruit small, very austere, is one of the many articles used to adulterate Port wine in England, and the dried leaves though undoubtedly poisonous, often form a large proportion of the low priced black teas. Sloes in many parts of Wiltshire are called "Winterpricks."

2. P. *insititia* (Linn.) grafted Plum, wild Bullace-tree. From *insero (insitum)* to ingraft, the common stock for the purpose. *Engl. Bot. t.* 841. P. *communis* (Huds.) *β. insititia. Br. Flor. p.* 116.

Locality. Woods, hedges and thickets, but less abundant than the foregoing. *Sh. Fl. April, May, Fr. August, September. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *In all the Districts.* A larger, taller and stouter shrub than the last with a yellowish green coloured bark, and much larger flowers that appear with the leaves. In P. *spinosa,* the flowers are generally past before the leaves appear. Fruit globose, dark blue, as large as a marble, with a fine bloom, much less austere than the sloe, and excellent for tarts and puddings, for which they are collected by the country people. Intermediate flowers are so constantly occurring to the collecting botanist between P. *insititia* and P. *spinosa,* that it is often difficult to assign a name to many of them: it is more than probable they are mere varieties of the same species.

3. P. *domestica* (Linn.) Domestic Plum, Wild Plum Tree. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1783. P. *communis* (Huds.) *P. domestica, Br. Flor.* p. 116.

Locality. In hedgerows, naturalized. Rare. *T. Fl. et Fr. cum præced. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *Sparingly throughout Wilts.* The original stock of our garden *Plum,* and often with difficulty distinguished from some states of P. *insititia,* of which it is probably but a still larger variety.

4. P. *avium* (Linn.) Common wild Cherry-tree or Gran, *lit.* of the birds, *Cerasus Avium* (Mench). *Engl. Bot. t.* 706. *Cerasus sylvestris fructu nigro.* Raii. Syn. p. 463.

Locality. In woods and hedges. Rare. Tree, *Fl. April, May.* Fruit, *July. Area,* * 2. 3. 4. 5.

South Division.

2. *South Middle District,* "Westbury," *Mrs. Overbury.*

3. *South-west District,* "Corsley," *Miss Griffith.*

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* In the woods about Box; Kingsdown, Spye Park, and Bowood.

5, *North-east District,* "Marlborough," *Rev. T. A. Preston.*

Probably not truly indigenous in the above localities, but owing its origin to seeds, disseminated by birds, which resort to the Cherry-trees in gardens. A moderate size tree with round *branches,* and a polished ash coloured bark, whose epidermis splits horizontally; in old trees the bark is very rough. Branches spreading *never pendulous,* the whole forming a round head. Leaves obovate or obovate-oblong, glandular, with longer leaf-stalks than those in P. *Cerasus* (Linn.) *The flowers* are white, on long simple pedicels, but few together in umbels produced by different buds from the foliage. Petals flaccid scarcely spreading, calyx at length reflexed, *nut* hard, round, and smooth. There are several varieties of Wild Cherry enumerated by botanical writers, differing principally in the shape, and colour of the fruit. The leaves in every variety are simply folded flat (conduplicate) while young, by which character cherries differ from the Bullace-tribe, in which the leaves are rolled lengthways in a spiral manner, (convolute). In the spring when in full bloom it is highly ornamental to our woods, and its foliage in the Autumn, when it assumes a deep purplish red colour, gives great richness to the landscape, and contrasts well

with the yellows, and browns, which predominate at that season.

SPIRÆA, (LINN.) SPIRÆA.
Linn. Cl. xvii. Ord. ii.

Name. From *speirao* (Gr.) to become spiral, in allusion to the fitness of the plants to be twisted into garlands.

1. S. *Ulmaria* (Linn.) Meadow-sweet. So called from the resemblance of the leaf to the elm, *(ulmus)* or from its growing with the elm in moist situations. The English name "meadow-sweet" was given from the sweet scent of the flowers, which is like that of the hawthorn, and perceptible at a considerable distance in a calm atmosphere. *Engl. Bot.* 960. *St.* 18, 8.

Locality. In moist meadows, wet woods, thickets and osier-beds, by the sides of rivers, canals, streams and ditches. *P. Fl. June, August. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *Frequent in all the Districts.*

2. S. *Filipendula* (Linn.) Common Dropwort. So called from *filum* a thread, and *pendulus* hanging, in allusion to the peculiar structure of the root, the principal fibres of which enlarge towards the extremity in the form of tubers, a provision of nature to enable the plant to resist drought, it being almost the only instance in its genus of attachment to arid situations. *Engl. Bot. t.* 284. *St.* 18, 7.

Locality. Not unfrequent in open dry chalky and limestone pastures. *P. Fl. June, July. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

South Division.

1. *South-east District,* "Whiteparish Hill," *Rev. E. Simms.* "On the Race-course Salisbury," *Mr. James Hussey.* "Amesbury," *Dr. Southby.* "Pewsey Down," *Rev. T. F. Ravenshaw.*

2. *South Middle District,* Not unfrequent on Salisbury Plain, and about Stonehenge.

3. *South-west District,* "Near Winklebury," *Miss L. G. Griffith.* "Warminster Downs," *Mr. Wheeler.*

North Division.

4. *North-west District,* Box, and Rudlow. "Chippenham," *Dr. Alexander Prior,* and *Mr. C. E. Broome.*

5. *North-east District,* Roundway Hill. "Great Bedwyn,"

Mr. William Bartlett. Although this species is *distributed throughout all the Districts,* it cannot be considered a common plant in the county.

Sanguisorba; (Linn.) Great Burnet.
Linn. Cl. iv. Ord. i.

Name. From *sanguis,* blood, and *sorbeo, to take up, or absorb,* from the supposed vulnerary properties of the plant.

1. S. *officinalis* (Linn.) Officinal or Wild Burnet. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1312. *Baxter's British Flowering Plants, t.* 269.

Locality. Low moist meadows and pastures, on a calcareous soil. Rare. *P. Fl. June, August. Area,* * * 3. 4. 5.

South Division.

3. *South-west District,* Meadows about Boyton. "Near Warminster," *Mr. Wheeler.*

North Division.

4. *North-west District,* "Meadows at South Wraxhall Ponds," *Mr. Sole.* On the bank of the canal near the "Feeder," about a mile from the "New Inn," Seend.

5. *North-east District,* Damp meadows at Marston Meysey. "Meadows near Calne," *Mr. C. E. Broome.*

Very local in Wilts. This plant has not been observed for some years in the locality given on the authority of the late Mr. Sole. The whole plant is astringent, the root has been recommended as a tonic, though of very moderate efficacy.

Poterium, (Linn.) Lesser Burnet.
Linn. Cl. xxi. Ord. vii.

Name. From *Poterium* (Lat.) a *drinking cup,* the plant having been used in the preparation of a drink, called in England a *cool* tankard.

1. P. *sanguisorba* (Linn.) common Salad Burnet, Garden Burnet. *Engl. Bot. t.* 860.

Locality. On hilly pastures and borders of fields, wherever the chalk is near the surface. *P. Fl. June, August. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *Frequent in all the Districts.* The leaves taste and smell like

cucumber, and give that flavour to salads, for which purpose the young leaves are sometimes used, hence the English name "Salad Burnet." It has sometimes been cultivated in an agricultural point of view, especially on a calcareous soil, and it is stated to prove an excellent winter pasture when hardly anything else vegetates. The severest frost never injures this plant, and the oftener it is fed the thicker are its leaves which spring constantly from its root, and their flat circular spread will prevent the growth of weeds.

P. *muricatum* (Spach.) muricated Salad Burnet should be looked for in the county. It is likely to have been passed over for P. *sanguisorba* (Linn.) which it much resembles. The following are some of the prominent differences between the two plants. Fruit of P. *muricatum* large, strongly winged with its surface pitted, and the elevated margins of the pits dentate. In P. *sanguisorba* (Linn.) the fruit is small, angular, but scarcely winged, reticulate-rugose but not pitted. The calyx of the former is larger and more spreading, the heads are much heavier, perfecting more seeds. The leaves are generally more coarsely serrated, and the whole plant stronger.

The Poteria should always be examined with fruit advanced.

Agrimonia, (Linn.) Agrimonia.

Linn. Cl. xi. Ord. ii.

Name. From *agros* (Gr.) *a field*, and *meno* (Gr.) *to inhabit*, its usual station being in cornfields.

1. A. *Eupatoria* (Linn.) Eupator's Agrimony, formerly much reputed for its medicinal properties. The name *(Eupatoria)* probably refers to Mithridates Eupator, King of Pontus, author of some medicinal commentaries, of great repute among the ancients, and inventor of the famous antidote for poison called "Mithridate." *Engl. Bot. t.* 1335. *St.* 59, 4.

Locality. In bushy places, by roadsides, and on the borders of fields. *P. Fl. June, July. Area*, 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *Common throughout Wilts.* It varies considerably in the hairiness of the foliage, in the size of the flowers, and in the form of the ripe calyx.

ALCHEMILLA, (LINN.) LADY'S MANTLE.

Linn. Cl. iv. Ord. i.

Name. Alkêmelych, the Arabic name of one of the species, so called from its pretended alchemical virtues. The English name Lady's Mantle refers to the plaiting and regularity of the leaves of A. *vulgaris* (Linn.) giving an appearance of a mantle, which with the general elegance of the plant caused it to be dedicated to the Virgin as "Our Lady's Mantle."

1. A. *vulgaris* (Linn.) Common Lady's Mantle. *Engl. Bot. t.* 597.

Locality. In moist pastures and open places, in woods not common. *P. Fl. June, August. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

South Wiltshire.

1. *South-east District,* "Meadows at West Dean," *Major Smith.*

2. *South Middle District,* Patney Meads near Devizes.

3. *South-west District,* In plenty at the Great Ridge Wood. "About Warminster," *Messrs. Wheeler & Rowden.*

North Division.

4. *North-west District,* Meadows between the "Old Horse and Jockey," and South Wraxhall. "Near the Pond on Bowden Hill," *Dr. Alexander Prior.* Spye Park. "Rudlow and Box," *Mr. C. E. Broome.*

5. *North-east District,* "Marlborough," *Rev. T. A. Preston.* "Great Bedwyn," *Mr. William Bartlett.* A more frequent plant in the Northern than in the Southern districts of Wilts. "Of all our Natives" Dr. Abbot considers this the most elegant plant. Various circumstances often combine to attach a botanist to some particular favourite. Haller was enamoured with "*Astrantia major,*" Linnæus with "*Trientalis europœa,*" and "*Melampyrum nemorosum.*" If I, (Sir James Smith) were to avow a similar partiality it would be in favour of "*Geum rivale.*" This is the plant probably alluded to in "*Camden's Britannia*" as growing at Whiteparish (*South-east District*) under the name of "*Stellaria*" *vel* "*Sanicula major.*"

2. A. *arvensis* (Linn.) field Lady's Mantle, Parsley Piert, "*Aphanes*" (Linn.) *Engl. Bot. t.* 1011.

Locality. In cultivated and waste ground, on sand and gravel. *A. Fl. May, August. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *Distributed throughout all the Districts.*

Potentilla, (Linn.) Cinque-foil.
Linn. Cl. xii. Ord. iii.

Name. From *potens* (Lat.) powerful, in allusion to the medicinal properties attributed to some of the species.

1. P. *anserina* (Linn.) Goose or Silver weed. From *anser* (Lat.) a goose. *Engl. Bot. t.* 861. *St.* 4, 7.

Locality. Sides of paths and roads, and in low pastures, especially where water has stood during the winter. *P. Fl. June, July. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4 .5. *In all the Districts. Leaves* silvery, and white underneath. Leaflets curiously folding themselves up: sometimes the leaves are smooth and destitute of that silky down which gives them their chief beauty. It is this species which according to Linnæus indicates clay under the surface, and not P. *argentea* (Linn.)

2. P. *argentea* (Linn.) Hoary or Silver-leaved Cinque-foil. *Engl. Bot. t.* 89. *St.* 17, 7.

Locality. In pastures on a gravelly soil. *P. Fl. June, July. Area,* 1. * 3. * 5.

South Division.

1. *South-east District,* "Between the windmill and the miller's house, on the common near Waddon," *Dr. Maton.*

3. *South-west District,* Sutton Veny near Heytesbury.

North Division.

5. *North-east District,* "Burbage," *Mr. William Bartlett.* An unfrequent species in Wilts according to my own observations. The locality on the authority of Dr. Maton requires to be again verified by some trustworthy botanist.

3. P. *reptans* (Linn.) Creeping or Trailing Cinque-foil. *Engl. Bot. t.* 862.

Locality. In woods, meadows, pastures, on ditch and hedge banks, waste ground, and by waysides abundantly. *P. Fl. June, September. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *Frequent in all the Districts.*

Stems taking root at the joints. Petals large and yellow, mostly five, but occasionally only four.

4. P. *Tormentilla* (Nesl.) Common Tormentil or Septfoil. *Tormentilla officinalis* (Linn.) *Engl. Bot. t.* 863. *St.* 34, 12.

Locality. In dry open meads, thickets, pastures, and on heathy moory ground. *P. Fl. June, August. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *Common throughout Wilts,* and one of the most abundantly diffused British plants; stems procumbent, or ascending at the base. Flowers small, bright yellow, and mostly with four petals, *carpels longitudinally wrinkled.*

Var. β. P. *procumbens* (Sibth) procumbent or creeping Tormentilla. T *reptans* (Linn.) *Engl. Bot. t.* 864. Occurring in woods, and hedge-banks; appears to be a more procumbent variety, of the above; occasionally creeping at the base, with rather larger flowers, varying with four or five *petals,* when it becomes difficult to distinguish from P. *reptans* (Linn.) Many botanists are of opinion that the two plants are identical.

5. P. *fragariastrum* (Ehrh.) Barren Strawberry, Strawberry-leaved Cinquefoil. *Engl. Bot.* 1785. *Fragaria sterilis* (Linn.)

Locality. Woods, banks, and dry pastures. *P. Fl. April, May. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *In all the Districts.* Habit that of *Fragaria vesca* (Linn.) wood Strawberry, for which it is often mistaken.

Comarum, (Linn.) Comarum.

Linn. Cl. xii. Ord. iii.

Name. From *(comaros)* Gr. for the *Arbutus,* which it resembles in fruit.

1. C. *palustre* (Linn.) Marsh Cinquefoil or Purple Marsh-locks. *Engl. Bot. t.* 172. *Potentilla Comarum* (Nestl.)

Locality. In very swampy or boggy places. Rare. *P. Fl. July, August. Area,* 1. * * * *

South Division.

1. *South-east District,* "Grimstead," *Mr. James Hussey.* Very rare in the county. This plant formerly grew in some abundance on Alderbury Common, but I have recently been informed by Mr. James Hussey that it is now lost by drainage. Last year it was reported

to me, that the Comarum had been *observed* in Spye Park, *(North-west District)*. The station should be confirmed during the ensuing summer by some trustworthy botanist. This beautiful species is placed by some authors in the genus Potentilla from which it differs by its enlarged spongy receptacle.

Fragaria, (Linn.) Strawberry.
Linn. Cl. xii. Ord. iii.

Name. The name used by Virgil is *Fraga*, "Qui legitis flores et humi nascentia fraga," whence the Strawberry plant was named by the old herbalists, *Fragaria*. Fraga is, perhaps, from *fragrans* in allusion to the perfume of the fruit.

1. F. *vesca* (Linn.) wood Strawberry.[1] *Vesca* (Lat.) signifies eatable. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1524. *Engl. Bot. Suppl. t.* 2742.

Locality. Woods, thickets, and shady places. *P. Fl. May, June, July. Area,* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *Common in all the Districts.*[2] This species is sometimes mistaken for F. *elatior* (Ehrh.) they may at once be recognised by the following characters. In F. *vesca* (Linn.) the petals are *white* both in the *limb* and *claw*, and their *length* and *breadth* are about *equal*, the limb has *two slight notches*, and the claw is very *indistinct;* the petals in F. *elatior* (Ehrh.) are in length only equal *to two thirds* of the *breadth*, the *limb* is *white* and perfectly *entire*, the *claw* is quite *distinct* and *bright yellow.*

The fruit (which is the fleshy receptacle of the seeds become enlarged and pulpy) is fragrant, gratefully acid, and aromatic, and from its cooling quality is particularly acceptable in summer. Eaten either alone or with sugar, there are few constitutions, with which Strawberries even when taken in large quantities are found to disagree.

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[1] From the ancient practice of laying straw between the rows of plants, to keep the ground moist and the fruit clean.

[2] Aubrey in his "Natural History of Wilts," p. 50, has the following note:— "Strawberries *(fragaria)* in Colern woods, exceeding plentifull, the earth is not above two inches, above the free-stone. The poor children gather them, and sell them to Bathe, but they kill the young ashes by barking them to make boxes to put them in."

A Plea for the Rooks.

By the Rev. A. C. Smith, M.A.

Read before the Society during the Annual Meeting at Malmesbury, August, 1862.

IT is hard to fight against the prejudices of mankind, but inasmuch as in some districts of Wiltshire, not content with the annual ruthless slaughter of the newly fledged brood, some have thought fit to begin a war of extermination, by wholesale poisoning and otherwise, against the whole family of rooks, it is time for the friends of those ill-starred birds to expostulate, and point out the suicidal policy of those short-sighted men, who under a mistaken notion of their true character, are destroying some of the best friends the farmer has.

It would be fair, in the first place, to bespeak in behalf of this persecuted tribe, the goodwill of all who love country life, by calling to mind the cheery note, so eloquent of lengthening days, and advancing spring, which charms the ear of those who live near a rookery; or by pointing out the animation which all Nature derives from their presence, and the sad blank which would exist in our meadows and fields, in the event of their destruction: but as we may fairly conjecture that such pleas border too much on the romantic to weigh with such matter of fact minds as those of their would-be-destroyers, I will waive all such considerations, and rest my cause on their substantial merits alone.

I begin by stating at the outset that it is not at all my intention to endeavour to prove my protegées perfectly harmless and immaculate, because I am well aware that a certain amount of mischief is occasioned by them, and I have no wish to slur over their bad qualities, and magnify their virtues; convinced as I am that such a proceeding would be fatal to my favorites, and that no good purpose is ever answered by too violent partisanship. Moreover I am so confident of the strength of my case, that I desire

nothing more than the plain unvarnished truth to be stated on both sides, and have no fear for the verdict; being perfectly certain that on investigation it will be acknowledged by every fair and candid mind, that the benefits conferred on man by those members of the animal kingdom whose cause I am advocating, far outweigh, indeed utterly obliterate, any harm they may at certain seasons commit.

To plunge at once then *in medias res*, and to take the bull by the horns. The charge so often brought against rooks by the agriculturist is, that they will occasionally pilfer and devour corn and other crops, and undoubtedly unless watched and scared away by the bird-boy, (or *crow-tender* as he is termed in some districts) they will at certain seasons make considerable havoc, and do no small mischief. This is the one single misdemeanor alleged against them, and of this too it is never pretended that they are guilty but for a very trifling portion of the year; and even here too, though I allow that it is a true bill in the main, they are sometimes accused when innocent, and when they are intent upon very different food, the wireworm and the grub; and are busily engaged in the farmer's service, in exterminating those most destructive pests: but granted that they will for a very short period, if not prevented, commit depredation on the corn; let us examine how they are employed, and where they feed, and on what they subsist, during the remaining nineteen-twentieths of the year, and we shall see that it is on the larvæ of a variety of noxious insects, wireworms of various sorts, and grubs of cockchaffers, and a thousand other kindred ravagers of crops, which swarm throughout our fields, and which, but for the assistance of rooks (and other members of the animal kingdom which come to our aid, and making them their prey rid us of the evil) would breed a famine in the land, by their enormous numbers and voracity.

Now the rook is an omnivorous bird and nothing seems to come amiss to its appetite. We have seen that it will occasionally eat corn, but its food principally consists of worms and insects, an astonishing number of which a single rook will devour in a single day; and when we consider the vast flocks of these birds which

abound in every parish, I may almost say on every farm, we shall be lost in wonder and admiration, for the mind falters at the amount and fails to take in, the *enormous* quantity of injurious insects which these useful birds destroy every year.

And now that I have shortly stated my case, I proceed to prove it by the testimony of all our best and soundest Ornithologists, and most accurate out-door observers; and here I can bring such an array of witnesses, and names of so great and so deserved notoriety on the point, that he must be a bold and hardened sceptic, who still holds out and refuses credence to their united assertions.

There can be no question that in former days, public opinion in this country was entirely against rooks, as we may infer from the following entry among certain presentments concerning the parish of Alderley in Cheshire, in 1598, being the fortieth year of Queen Elizabeth's reign: "We find that there is no Crow-nett in the parish, a payne that one be bought by the charge of the parish."[1] A pretty clear proof that the destruction of these birds was at that day regular and systematic; and I need not stop to point out that from that day to this, though I hope not regularly and systematically, rooks have met with persecution, under the impression of their mischievous habits. To prove then that this was a gross libel on their character at that day, and that it is not through education or strict discipline that they have mended their manners in these days, I will adduce as my first witness in their favour our own countryman, Aubrey, who flourished about the year 1670. In his 13th chapter, he says, "In the peacefull raigne of King James I. the Parliament made an Act for provision of rooke-netts and catching crows to be given in charge of court barons, which is by the stewards observed, but I never knew the execution of it. I have heard knowinge countrymen affirme that rook wormes, which the crows and rooks doe devour at sowing time, doe turne to chafers, which I think are our English locusts; and some yeares wee have such fearfull armies of them that they devour all manner of green things; and if the Crowes did not destroy these wormes, it would oftentimes happen. Parliaments are not infallible, and some think

[1] Stanley on Birds, i., 248,

they were out in this bill." Such was Aubrey's opinion, and good old Bewick[1] follows in the same strain, "They are useful in preventing a too great increase of that destructive insect the chafer or dor-beetle, and thereby make large recompense for the depredations they may occasionally make on the corn-fields." The accurate Selby says,[2] "The rook has erroneously been viewed in the light of an enemy by most husbandmen, and in several districts attempts have been made either to banish it, or to extirpate the breed. But wherever this measure has been carried into effect, the most serious injury to the corn and other crops has invariably followed, from the unchecked devastations of the grub and caterpillar. As experience is the sure test of utility, a change of conduct has in consequence been partially adopted; and some farmers now find the encouragement of the breed of rooks to be greatly to their interest, in freeing their land from the grubs of the cockchafer *(melolontha vulgaris)* an insect very abundant in many of the southern counties. In Northumberland I have witnessed their usefulness in feeding on the larvæ of the insect commonly known by the name of '*Harry Longlegs*' (Tipula oloracea) which is particularly destructive to the roots of grain and young clovers." So far Selby: Yarrell (who is a host in himself), writes thus:[3] "Early in the morning rooks visit meadow-land while the grass is yet wet with dew, to break their fast on worms and slugs, which the moisture of that period induces to crawl forth. Later in the day, they may be seen either searching newly ploughed ground for the various insects there exposed, or again visiting pastures for other purposes. There they are accused of destroying the grass by pulling it up by the roots; but it has been stated and I believe truly, that this is an error arising out of the following circumstance: In searching for grubs which are concealed in the earth, and supported by eating the roots of the grass, the rook pulls at the blade of grass with its bill, and when the grass comes up readily, the bird knows that there are under it insects which have destroyed

[1] Bewick's Birds, i. p. 72.

[2] Selby's Illustrations of British Ornithology, vol. i., p. 353.

[3] Yarrell's British Birds, vol. ii., p. 94.

its roots, and in this way detects them; but if the blade of grass is firm, the rook goes to another part of the ground. In a field where grubs are very abundant, the rooks scatter the grass everywhere, so as to give the appearance of having rooted it up, while they have only exposed the depredations of the insects by which the roots have been destroyed." The author of the Journal of a Naturalist, speaking of the readiness with which rooks detect the places where grubs are sure to be found, says: "I have often observed them alight on a pasture of uniform verdure, and exhibiting no sensible appearance of feathering or decay, and immediately commence stocking up the ground. Upon investigating the object of their operations, I have found many heads of plaintains, the little autumnal dandelions, and other plants, drawn out of the ground, and scattered about, their roots having been eaten off by a grub, leaving only a crown of leaves upon the surface." It may readily be supposed that extensive injury at the root of a plant cannot exist long without some alteration in the appearance of the leaves, or other parts, above ground, and the rooks seem to have learned by experience how to select those plants which are the most likely to afford them some recompense for the trouble they take in grubbing them up. Jesse,[1] in his instructive Gleanings, says, "A gentleman once showed me a field which had all the appearance of having been scorched, as if by a burning sun in dry hot weather: the turf peeled from the ground as if it had been cut with a turfing spade, and we then discovered that the roots of the grass had been eaten away by the larvæ of the cockchaffer, which were found in countless numbers at various depths in the soil. This field was visited by a great quantity of rooks, though there was no rookery within many miles of the neighbourhood, who turned up, and appeared to devour the grubs with great satisfaction." To prove their utility on other occasions, two or three quotations from the Magazine of Natural History, among many others, will suffice: "A flight of locusts visited Craven, and they were so numerous as to create considerable alarm among the farmers of the district. They were however soon relieved from

[1] Jesse's Gleanings in Natural History, p. 30.

their anxiety, for the rooks flocked in from all quarters by thousands and tens of thousands, and devoured them so greedily that they were all destroyed in a short time." Again, "It was stated a few years ago, that there was such an enormous quantity of caterpillars upon Skiddaw, that they devoured all the vegetation on the mountain; and people were apprehensive they would attack the crops in the enclosed lands; but the rooks, which are fond of high ground in summer, having discovered them, in a very short time put a stop to their ravages." I have not yet done with my authorities. Jesse, in the second volume of his Gleanings in Natural History, makes the following remark on this subject: "In order to be convinced that these birds are beneficial to the farmer, let him observe the same field in which his ploughman and his sower are at work: he will see the former followed by a train of rooks, while the sower will be unattended, and his grain remain untouched." Bishop Stanley in his charming Familiar History of Birds,[1] writes, "We feel quite certain, that notwithstanding the depredations which may fairly be laid to their account, on striking a fair balance, the advantage will be in favour of preserving the rooks, and that, if every nest were pulled to pieces, the farmers would soon do all in their power to induce the old birds to rebuild them, finding out, when too late, of what immense service they are, in destroying those large white grubs of beetles, which living underground no less than from three to four years, devour incessantly the tender roots of grasses and every description of grain:" and again the Bishop says, "It is scarcely necessary to name the wireworm as one of the greatest scourges to which the farmers are exposed, and yet it is to the rook chiefly, if not entirely, that they can look for a remedy. Cased in its hard shelly coat, it eats its way into the heart of the roots of corn, and is beyond the reach of weather, or the attacks of other insects, or small birds, whose shorter and softer bills cannot penetrate the recesses of its secure retreat, buried some inches below the soil: the rook alone can do so; if watched when seen feeding in a field of sprouting wheat, the heedless observer will abuse him when he sees him jerking up root after root of the

[1] Stanley on Birds, i., 249.

rising crop; but the careful observer will, if he examines minutely, detect in many of these roots, the cell of a wireworm, in its silent and underground progress, inflicting death on stems of many future grains. Their sagacity too, in discovering that a field of wheat or a meadow is suffering from the superabundance of some devouring insect, is deserving of notice. Whether they find it out by sight, smell, or some additional unknown sense, is a mystery, but that they do so is a fact beyond all contradiction."—And now as a climax I come at last to the evidence of him whom I consider the first of living Naturalists, ("facile princeps") Mr. Waterton,[1] and he says in his first book of Essays, wherein he has devoted a whole chapter to the rooks: "Now if we bring, as a charge against them, their feeding upon the industry of man, as for example, during the time of a hard frost, or at seed time, or at harvest, at which periods they will commit depredations, if not narrowly watched; we ought, in justice, to put down in their favour the rest of the year, when they feed entirely upon insects," and then he refers us "if we wish to know the amount of noxious insects destroyed by rooks," to an admirable paper on the services of the rook, in the Magazine of Natural History,[2] and concludes by saying "I wish every farmer in England would read it: they would then be convinced how much the rook befriends them;" but in the second series of Essays[3] the same excellent writer is again provoked to defend his sable friends by a threatened extermination of them in Scotland, and he says "We have innumerable quantities of these birds in this part of Yorkshire, and we consider them our friends: they appear in thousands upon our grass lands, and destroy myriads of insects. After they have done their work in these enclosures, you may pick up baskets full of grass plants all injured at the root by the gnawing insects. We prize the bird much for this, and we pronounce them most useful guardians of our meadows and our pastures. Whenever we see the rooks in our turnip fields, we know then, to our sorrow, what is going on there: we are aware that grubs are destroying

[1] Waterton's Essays in Natural History, First series, p, 134.

[2] Vol. vi., p. 142, Paper by T. G. Clitheroe, Lancashire.

[3] Waterton's Essays in Natural History, Second series, p. 169.

the turnips, and we hail with pleasure the arrival of the rooks, which alone can arrest their dreaded progress. The services of the rooks to our oak trees are positively beyond estimation: I do believe, if it were not for this bird, all the young leaves in our oaks would be consumed by the cockchafers. Whilst the ring-dove is devouring the heart shoot of the rising clover, you may see the rook devouring insects in the same field."

I trust that such a host of witnesses as I have adduced, and witnesses of the first order in intelligence and intimate acquaintance with the subject, will not have failed to carry conviction to my readers; but as facts are stubborn things, and preconceived opinions are hard to eradicate, and the world is apt to accuse Ornithologists of riding their hobby too hard, and concealing everything that tells against their favourites, before I conclude, I will state the experience of practical men, who thinking to interfere with the balance of powers as arranged and sustained by nature, have thus recorded their failure.[1] "The inhabitants of Virginia contrived to extirpate the little crow from their country at an enormous expense, and having done so, they would gladly have given twice as much to buy back the tribe."[2] "A reward of threepence a dozen was offered in New England for the purple grackle, which commits great havoc among the crops, but protects so much more herbage than he destroys, that the insects when he was gone caused the total loss of the grass in 1749, and obliged the colonists to get hay from Pensylvania, and even to import it from Great Britain. A few years since an Act was passed by the Chamber of Deputies to prohibit the destruction of birds in a particular district of France; they had been recklessly killed off, and the harvest being swept away in its first green stage by millions of hungry reapers, the earth had ceased to yield its increase."[3] In our own country, on some very large farms in Devonshire, the proprietors determined a few summers ago, to try the experiment of offering a great reward for the heads of rooks; but the issue proved destructive to

[1] Quarterly Review, January, 1858, Article on "Sense of pain in Men and Animals," p. 203.

[2] Stanley on Birds, i. 252, King's Narrative, ii., 217. [3] Yarrell, ii. p, 96.

the farms, for nearly the whole of the crops failed for three successive years, and they have since been forced to import rooks and other birds to re-stock their farms with." A similar experiment was made a few years ago in a northern county, particularly in reference to rooks, but with no better success: the farmers were obliged to reinstate the rooks to save the crops. I have been also credibly informed by an intelligent farmer in Norfolk that "the trees in a neighbouring rookery having been cut down for the repair of farm buildings, and the rooks thereby banished, he has lost hundreds and hundreds of pounds by wireworm and a peculiar beetle which abounds in corn fields, which rooks alone destroy;" by which I conjecture he means the grub of the cockchafer described above. While another occupier in the same county told me, "that one boy after another, placed by him to keep off the rooks from a piece of wheat having 'played him false' (as he called it) he determined to leave it alone; when the rooks actually swarmed on it, and he expected no crop, but to his great surprize, when harvest came, he had the best crop he ever saw." But perhaps the best proof of the advantage supposed to be derived from these birds is, that in some districts enlightened farmers are going to considerable expense and taking great pains to introduce them on their property.

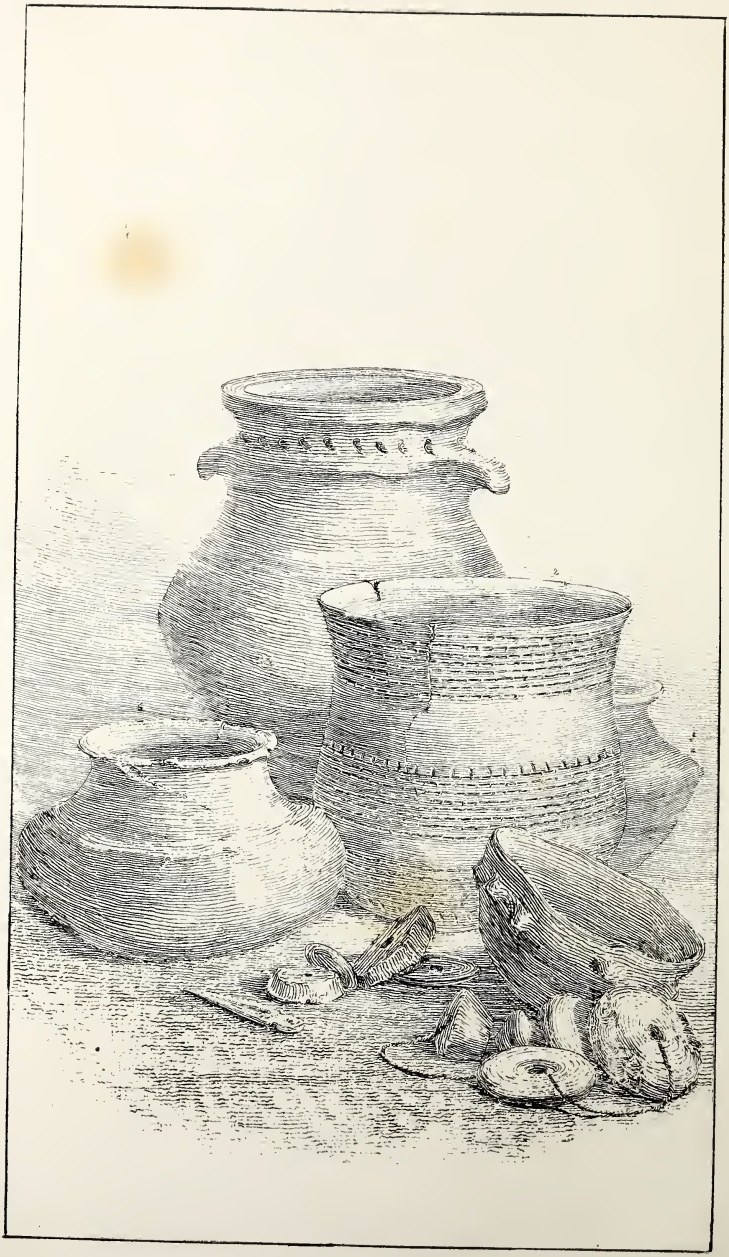
With such facts before us and such unanswerable evidence of the value of rooks, and of the grievous want of them where they have from any cause been expelled, I feel the greatest confidence in pleading for their preservation; and to sum up all that has been said in the words of an excellent article in a recent volume of the Quarterly Review:[1] "While the grub of the cockchafer commits great ravages both upon grass and corn by gnawing the roots of the plants so that entire meadows are sometimes denuded by it; the rook eats those destroyers by thousands, and by one act gets food for himself, and protects the wheat which is the staff of life to man: they are the grubs which chiefly attract him to follow the plough, and when he plucks up a blade of grass or corn it is almost

[1] Quarterly Review, January, 1858, p. 204, on "Sense of pain in Men and Animals."

invariably for the sake of some description of worm which is preying upon its root. The plant which he eradicates will be found upon examination to be dead or dying, and by devouring the cause of the mischief he saves the rest of the field from blight. Unobservant persons, who never look below the surface, often mistake the policeman for the thief: luckily their power to injure their benefactor is not equal to their will, or they would exterminate him altogether, and leave the depredators unmolested to consume the whole of the crops. When an unhappy success has attended efforts of this kind, we have seen that the evil consequences have been signal and immediate."

A flight of rooks then renders services which could not be performed by all the cultivators of the soil put together, and if the poor birds are occasionally mischievous, they are richly worthy of their hire. Make the largest probable allowance for their consumption of a portion of that crop, the whole of which they preserve, and they are still immeasurably the cheapest labourers employed upon a farm. Volumes would be required to tell all the mistakes which are committed in the blind rage for destruction, and in the readiness of the Lord of the Creation to believe that everything which tastes what he tastes is a rival and a loss.

But I do trust that that day of short-sighted ignorance is not to return to Wiltshire, and that we no longer jumble in one miserable confusion our friends with our foes. I trust that we have learnt to know our benefactors, and if the rooks do take a little of our newly sown grain, or when pinched by hard weather, if they are driven by starvation to peck holes in our turnips and potatoes, let us not grudge them the petty theft, but call to mind the vast benefits they confer on us at other seasons, and protect them as our best allies, and encourage them by every means in our power.



Urns, &c., from Large Cromlech, L'Ancresse. Guernsey.

Danish Cromlechs and Burial Customs

COMPARED WITH THOSE OF

Brittany, the Channel Islands, and Great Britain.

By the Rev. W. C. Lukis, M.A., F.S.A.

Read before the Society during the Annual Meeting at Shaftesbury, August, 1861.

"We raised the mould around the stone and bade it speak to other years." Ossian.

THE object of the following pages is to compare the Tombs and Burial Customs of the early inhabitants of Denmark with those of Great Britain, the Channel Islands, and Brittany, and to show that a difference exists between them. This difference is discoverable only by a close and careful comparison, for a cursory observer would probably not perceive it. My attention has been directed to this difference by reading a very interesting work on "Primeval Antiquities," (English Edition by W. J. Thoms, 1849) written a few years ago by a well known Danish Antiquary; and it is somewhat remarkable that the distinguished author, Mr. Worsaae, hardly seems to have appreciated the difference. In the Preface to this edition he says: "It will appear that there exists a great similarity between the Danish and British Antiquities." Again, at page 105, "In order that the Danish memorials may appear in their true light and connection, it will be of importance to enquire in what regions of other countries *similar monuments* of antiquity have been observed. Without such a general examination it would scarcely be possible to derive satisfactory historical conclusions from the enquiry. We first turn towards the south. Stone chambers, or cromlechs, or low barrows, encircled with stones, *which completely accord with the cromlechs of our stone period*, occur in Pomerania, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Hanover, in fact in the whole of the north of Germany, in *England*, *Ireland*, Holland, (particularly in the northern part,) and *in the west and south of*

France. Their contents are *everywhere* the same. Where they have not previously been opened there occur skeletons with objects of stone and amber; or one meets with stone implements and fragments of vessels of clay, just as in Denmark. Thus in France cromlechs of the stone-period, which contained skeletons and implements of flint, have been found, not only on the western coast, but also singly in the middle of the country, even in the southern part itself, in the neighbourhood of the Pyrenees and of Marseilles."[1]

This passage perplexes me a good deal, for this reason,—that when you read other parts of the work, you find that the Danish cromlechs, as described by Mr. Worsaae, do *not* "completely accord with the cromlechs" with which we are familiar in these Islands and in France. This is his definition of Danish cromlechs of the stone period. "These important and highly ancient memorials, which are usually termed cromlechs in England,—are slightly elevated mounds, surrounded by a number of upright stones, on the top of which are erected chambers formed of large stones placed one upon the other," (p. 78.) "The term cromlech is here applied not only to the stone chamber, but to the whole monument." (Ibid.)

Accepting the term cromlech as applicable to the whole structure, I should define a British cromlech to be "a Tumulus, enclosing a chamber formed of large stones placed one upon the other, surrounded by a circle of upright stones at the base of the mound. This tumulus is of two kinds, Circular and Long."[2] Who would ever venture to say that these two kinds of monuments do "completely accord?" The stone chamber of the one is perched *upon the top* of a mound, and the stones are exposed; the other is enclosed *in* a mound, and is either planted upon the level of the surrounding earth, or raised a little above it.[3] If then Mr. Worsaae's drawing and description are correct, and he is too distinguished an antiquary for any one to doubt him, then I hold that these sepulchral monuments were constructed by peoples having a common origin, but possessing at the time different ideas, and practising

[1] The words in italics are so marked by W. C. L.

[2] The same definition will apply to the French Dolmen omitting the surrounding circle of stones. [3] See Plate.

Danish Round Barrow.

Danish Long Barrow.

British Barrow.

different customs, and perhaps not living at the same period. There is only one cromlech in Brittany which bears a striking resemblance to the Danish tombs:—viz., near Kerbistoret, between Kourégan and Penher, but the author seems to imply that it is a subsequent erection, and that the mound may possibly contain the original stone chamber. "Un tumulus *sur lequel s'élève un Dolmen* presque détruit, dont les débris ont roulés sur les flancs et jusqu'à la base de la butte Celtique. Ce serait une fouille bien intéressante, celle qui nous dirait si cette butte, surmonteé d'un monument funéraire, couvre ou non des cendres humaines renfermées dans un autre monument funéraire." [A tumulus upon which rises a Dolmen, nearly demolished, some of whose stones have rolled down the sides even to the very base of the mound. It would be a very interesting search that would discover whether this tumulus surmounted by a sepulchral monument, contains human remains enclosed in another sepulchral monument.] "Guide des Touristes, &c., dans le Morbihan, &c.," p. 117. Mr. Bateman, in his "Ten Years Diggings," p. 18, gives an account of the discovery of a stone chamber or cist near the top of a large barrow on Middleton Moor, called Gib Hill, near Arbor-low, but this is clearly a late erection. Originally there were four small barrows, and on these four mounds was raised a large barrow in which the cist, which he calls a *miniature* cromlech was placed.

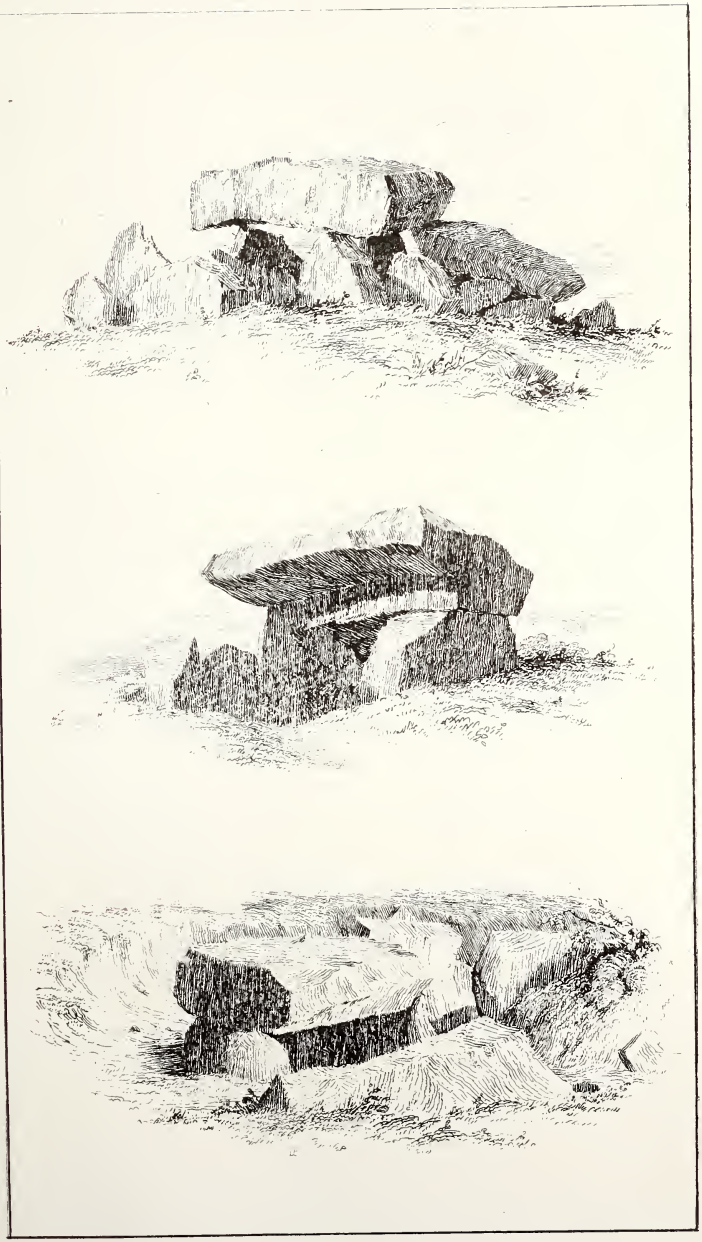
This difference is still further observable when Mr. Worsaae proceeds to describe the chamber. The Danish stone chambers, he says, are only partially covered with earth, "a great number of these chambers have been opened and explored, probably in most cases by persons who hoped to find great treasure in them. They are therefore frequently found quite exposed, *although originally they were no doubt covered with earth, yet only in such a manner as to leave a portion of the stones which formed the roof visible,*" (p. 81.) I cannot say that to my mind there is conclusive evidence of this. Supposing that the chambers were erected on the top of mounds, there is no good evidence to show that they were originally only *partially* concealed. Such an appearance might be the result of the denuding action of the elements, as well as of man's rude touch.

We are bound, however, to accept the construction as given by Mr. Worsaae,—and admitting that this is an accurate representation of a Danish tomb of the stone-period, then I say that it differs in this respect from the tombs of the same period in our country and in France. Ours were *without doubt* entirely covered with earth. Numbers of them in this state are still to be seen;—and I do not hesitate to assert my belief that *all of those which may now be seen in these countries, denuded of earth, were originally entirely concealed beneath mounds.* My father, who was one of the first to direct the attention of antiquaries to the nature and true use of cromlechs, in an article written for the Archæological Journal in 1844, thus expresses his opinion: "The heaped up earth and turf which once lay over the covering stones of the cromlech, having been long ago removed or levelled by time, these ancient depositories of the dead have become exposed, and left in detached portions, standing like giant spectres deprived of those accessories, which completed their original form."

This view is supported by French antiquaries. In a useful little work (by Dr. Alfred Fouquet) before quoted, published at Vannes in 1854 for the use of tourists and archæologists travelling in the Morbihan, it is stated—"depuis peu, plusieurs antiquaires Morbihannais, soutiennent que le Dolmen n'a jamais été un autel, et qu'il a toujours été un caveau sépulcral, enfoui le plus souvent, si ce n'est toujours, dans le sol naturel, ou surmonté d'un tumulus ou butte factice de composition diverse." [Recently many antiquaries of the Morbihan have entertained the opinion that the Dolmen has never been an altar, but has always been a sepulchral vault, most frequently, if not always, enclosed in the natural soil, or covered by an artificial tumulus composed of different materials,] p. 10. But further on in the book, Dr. Fouquet, in describing a denuded cromlech near Hennebont, asks "n'a-t-il pas été chargé d'une butte? Que de buttes Celtiques ont disparu, dont les terres ont été portées dans les champs pour y nourrir les blés! Ne voyons-nous pas tous les jours encore le cultivateur fouiller les buttes de Locmariaquer, et n'est-ce pas à cette coutume, hélas! trop répandue que l'on doit la découverte de la grotte du Mané-Lud?" [Has it

Cromlech (Creux-des-Fées) Guernsey.

SHOWING ENTRANCE



Cromlechs in Guernsey.

not been covered by a mound? How many Celtic tumuli have disappeared, whose earth has been carted into the fields to manure the corn? Do we not see every day the agriculturist digging up the tumuli of Locmariaquer, and is it not to this practice, alas! too common, that we owe the discovery of the cromlech of Mané-Lud?] p. 126. At page 41, he makes the following additional remark: "Si de la baie de Locmariaquer on jette les yeux sur les côtes et sur les îles qui l'entourent, on remarquera certainement que les *tumulus* ou buttes funéraires sont loin d'être rares dans cette partie du Morbihan; car on a autour de soi le Mané-Lud, le Mané-er-H'rouich, le Petit-Mont, la butte de Tumiac, le tumulus de L'Ile Longue, et le galgal de Gavr'inis. Quatre de ces six buttes ont été fouillées, et contiennent des grottes sépulcrales; le Petit-Mont en contient sûrement une, et la Montagne de la Fée doit probablement en couvrir une aussi." [If from the Bay of Locmariaquer you cast your eyes along the coasts and upon the surrounding islands, you will certainly notice that the tumuli or sepulchral mounds are far from being uncommon in this part of the Morbihan. For you have around you, the Mané-Lud, the Mané-er-H'rouich, the Petit-Mont, the tumulus of Tumiac, that of L'Ile Longue, and the Galgal of Gavr'inis. Four of these six mounds have been excavated, and contain sepulchral chambers; the Petit-Mont assuredly contains one, and the Montagne de la Fée probably covers another.]

We learn from an article in the Archæological Journal, No. 9, on the cromlechs in the Isle of Anglesea, by Mr. Longueville Jones, that the one at Plas Newydd, several in the same neighbourhood, and that at Bodowyr, now denuded, were originally enclosed in carns or heaps of stones or earth.

Rowland speaks of a tumulus near Plas Newydd in these terms: "Could this mound be excavated we should find in it a sepulchral chamber constructed in the true cromlech fashion." At Bryn-Celli is a tumulus containing a cromlech.

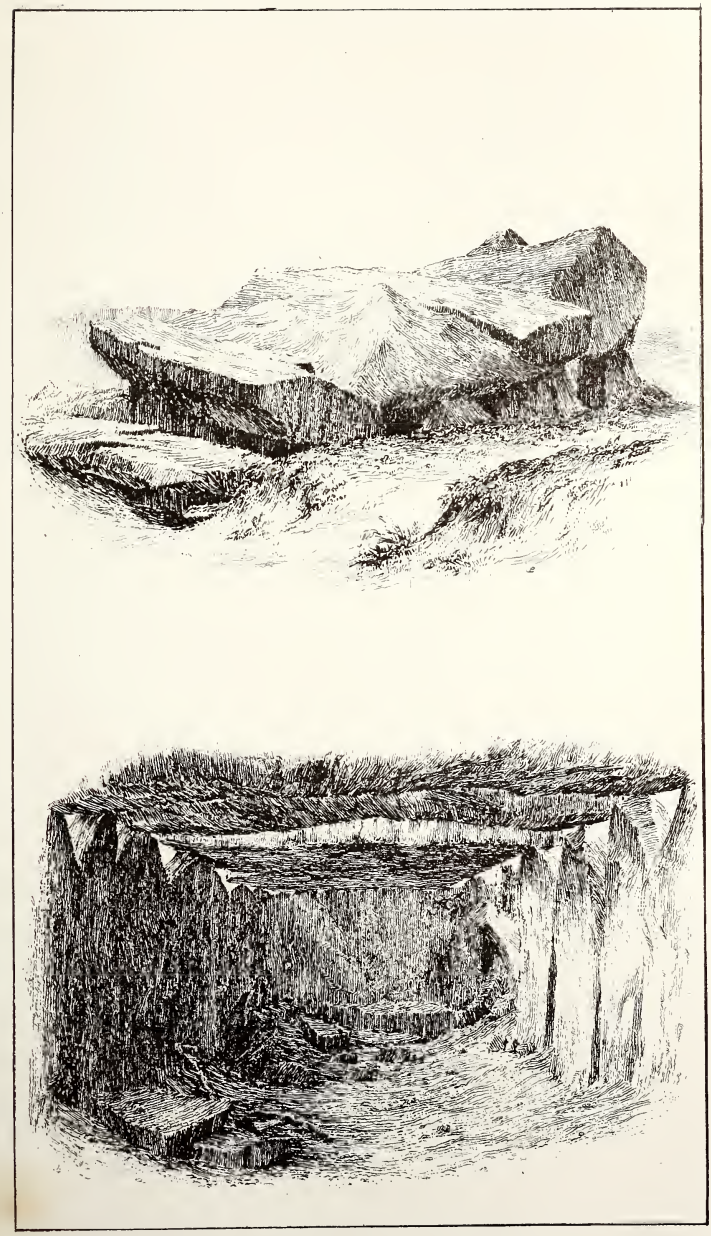
Pennant, vol. ii., p. 238, in speaking of cromlechs, says: "others again are *quite bedded in the carnedd* or heap of stones, of which instances may be produced in Llanfaelog in this Island, in that of Arran, and in the County of Meireonedd."

The cromlech of Llanfaelog is now denuded. "If then," remarks Mr. Longueville Jones, "this cromlech could have been so stripped since the end of the last century, what may we not expect to have taken place in other instances?"

Numerous carns containing stone chambers may still be seen in Wales. It would be needless to multiply instances. Enough has been advanced in support of my assertion,—that *all cromlechs, of whatever form, were originally enclosed in mounds of earth or stone.*

Cromlechs, by their very form, must naturally become denuded of earth, so as in course of time to expose the upper or covering stones, even where wanton destruction has not been inflicted. Every body knows how rapidly rain will carry the finer particles of earth down the many channels which are formed within any artificial heap, particularly if the heap contains stones of various sizes. A fissure in the ground will also gradually become filled with fine earth. In like manner the superincumbent earth will be carried by rain through the interstices of the cap stones and their supports, and in process of time fill up the chamber of the tumulus. The action of the elements will also tend, in course of ages, to carry the earth down the sides of the mound. This will account partly for two facts which are apparent to us now, viz.—the denudation and exposure of many cromlechs, and their being, in some cases, more or less filled with earth or silt.

This buried chamber is a primitive people's rude attempt to construct a sepulchral vault. And there is good reason for its being *buried.* They held the dead bodies of their relations and friends in great reverence, and sought to protect them from desecration and insult, and from the destructive effects of wind and rain. They desired also to shield them from the attacks of wild beasts, and they erected such sepulchres as they thought would best afford them this security. If as has been advanced by some antiquaries (among them Sir G. Gardner Wilkinson, in his account of the "British Remains on Dartmoor, Journal of Brit. Association," March, 1862), many of these stone chambers had been always uncovered, this security would not have been attained. The simple unchambered tumulus would have been much more secure, and would have been adopted in preference.



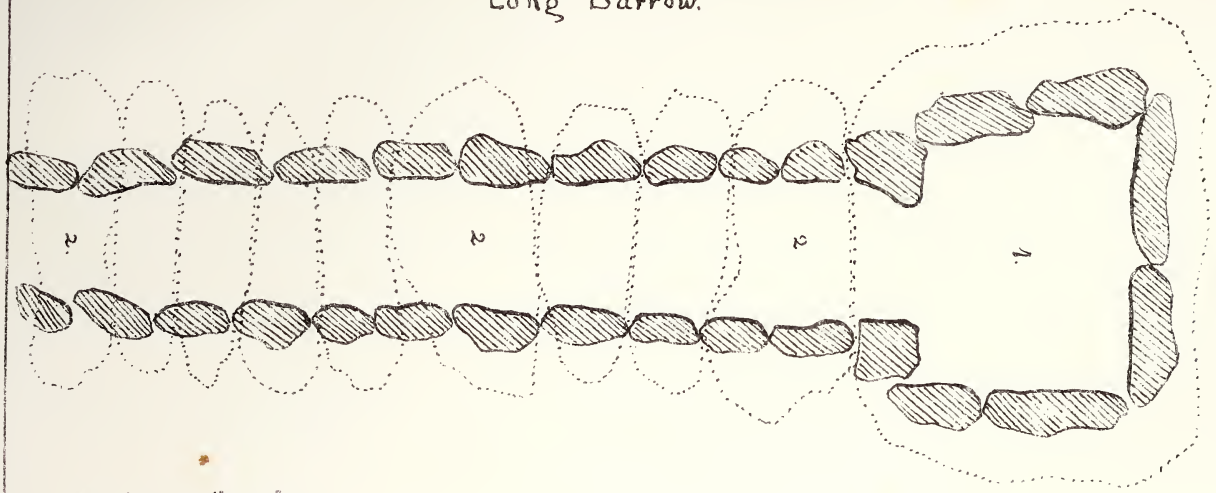
Large Cromlech, L'Ancresse, Guernsey.

SHOWING CHAMBER

that the aborigines were acquainted with the simple method of splitting large blocks of granite, which is still practised in several countries," (p. 92.)

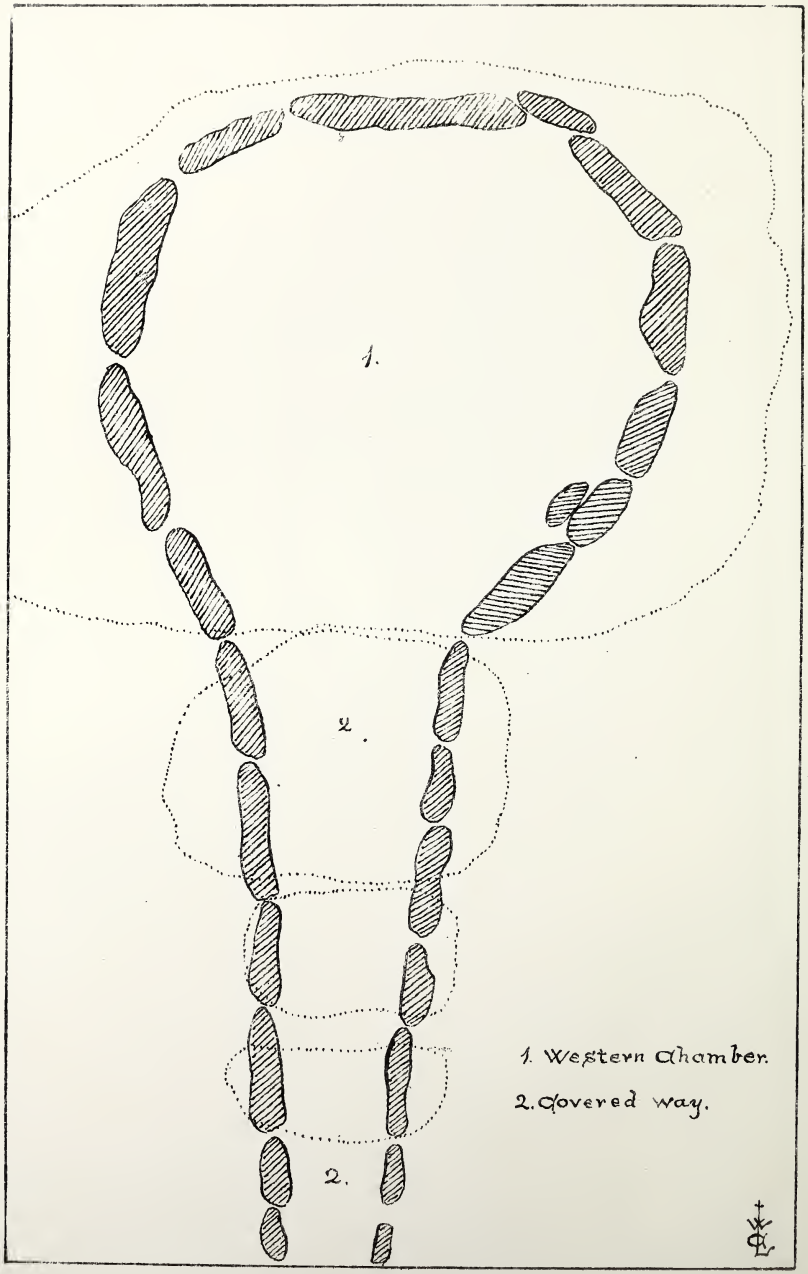
His present Majesty the King of Denmark has written an exceedingly interesting article upon the construction of Giants' Chambers, i.e. the larger kind of cromlech,—in which he says: "si l'on considère l'intérieur de la chambre sépulcrale on apercevra aussitôt que les murailles et le plafond en offrent toujours des côtés plats, et que ceux-ci forment une muraille tout unie que la pierre brute des champs ou des terrains près des côtes ne pourrait produire à moins que ce ne fût par une exception très rare. Il ne pourra donc pas y avoir de doute que ces grosses pierres n'aient été taillées ou façonnées exprès pour l'ouvrage à construire. On ne pourra révoquer en doute non plus que la taille ou la fente des pierres n'ait été faite à l'endroit même où on les a trouvées, car tout devrait inviter à diminuer les difficultés du transport en façonnant d'avance les pierres ou en amoindrissant leurs masses." [If the interior of the sepulchral chamber be examined it will be at once seen that the sides and ceiling always present even surfaces, and that the sides form a uniform wall, such as the rude stone of the fields or lands on the coast could not produce, except very rarely. It cannot therefore be doubted that these stone masses have been shaped or expressly fashioned for the work to be constructed. There can be no doubt also that the shaping or splitting of the stones has taken place on the very spot where they were found, for everything prompted them to lessen the difficulties of transport by reducing their masses.] His Majesty then goes on to describe the mode by which they are supposed to have accomplished it, in an age of wood and stone implements,—viz., by means of fire and water, the wedge and the mallet. A furrow is made in the block which is filled with water; fire is kindled beneath the block and when it is sufficiently heated, wedges are driven into the furrow, and the fracture is effected. If then the stone chambers of Denmark present the uniform and squared appearance here described, there is again another difference between them and ours. Although the internal surfaces of the

Plan of GAVR'-INNIS, Brittany.
Long Barrow.



1. Western Chamber.
2. Covered way.

54+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1. Western Chamber.
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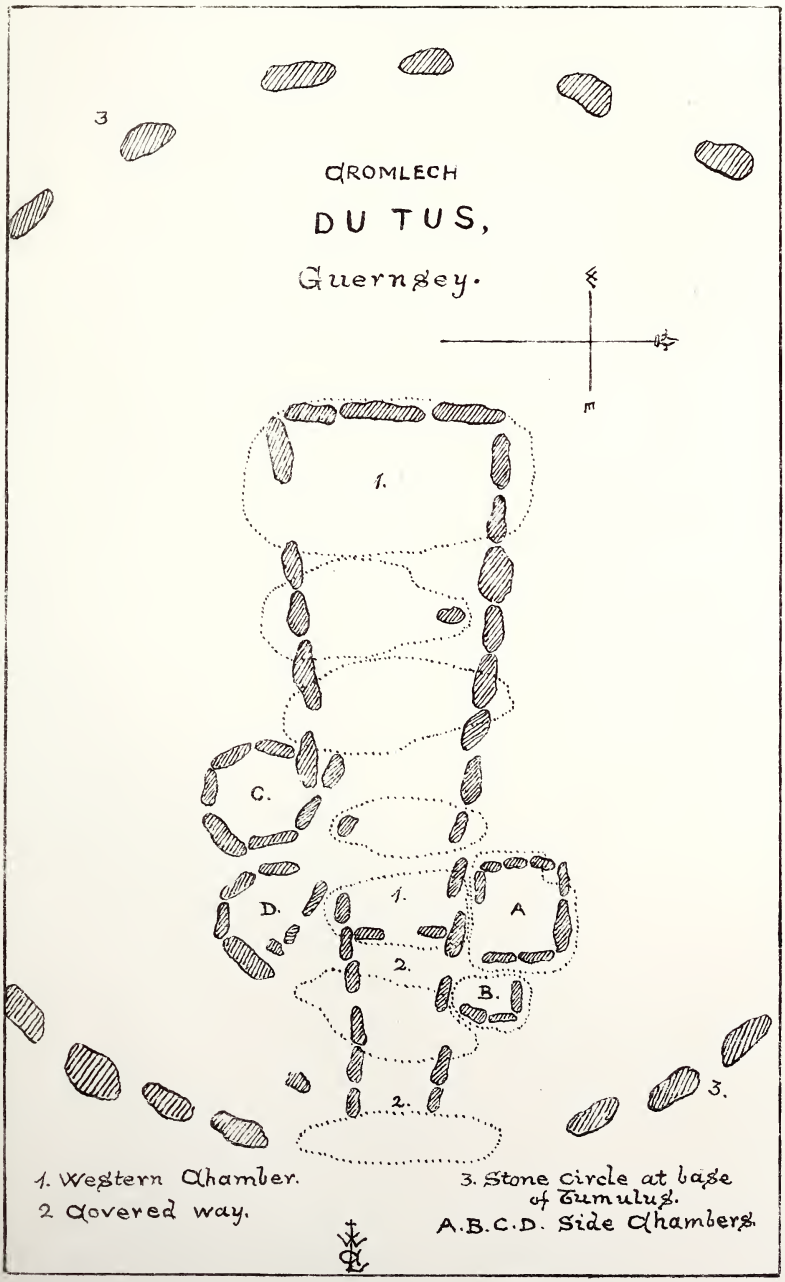
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CROMLECH
DU TUS,
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N
1.
C.
D.
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A
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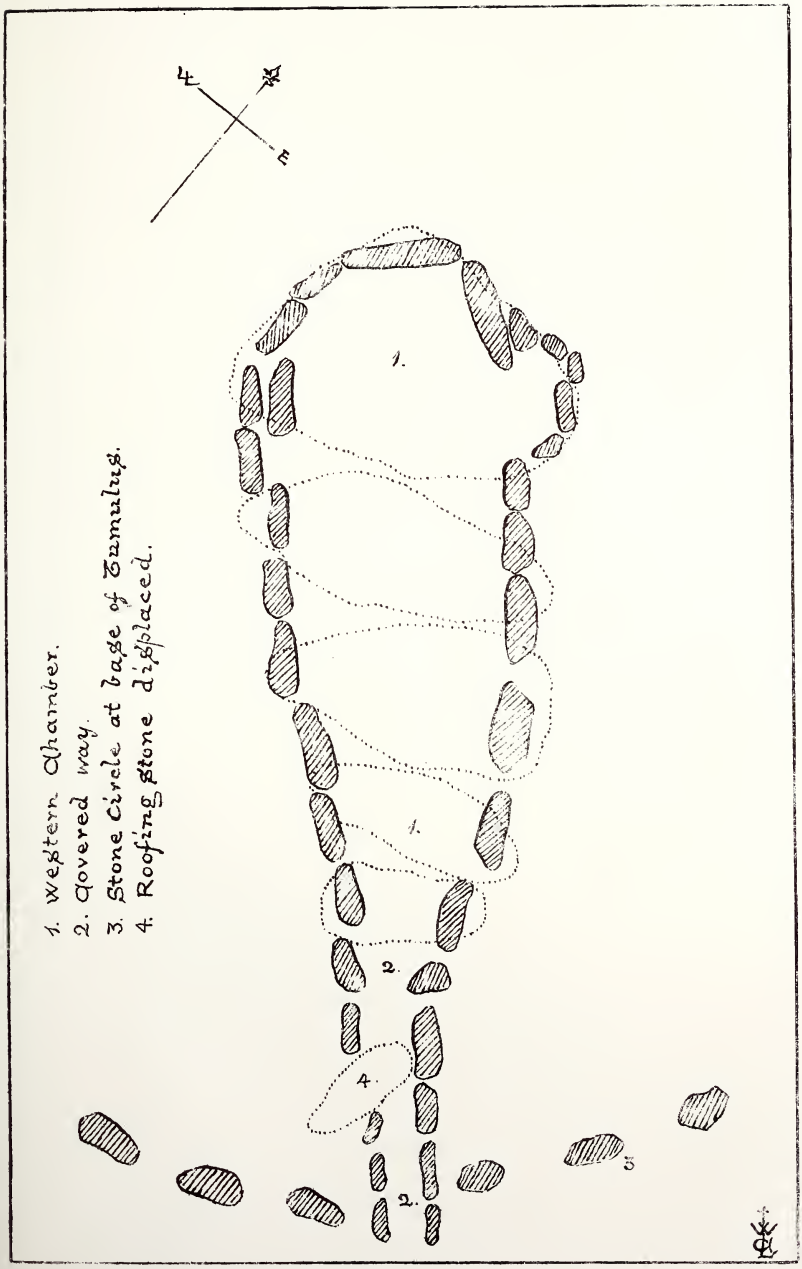
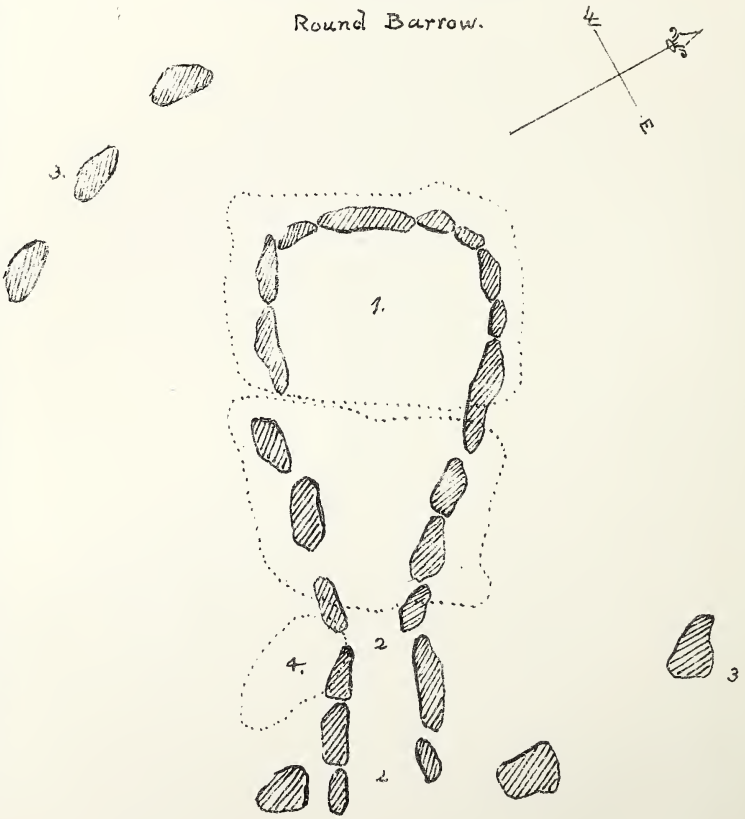
1. Western Chamber.
2 Covered way.
3. Stone circle at base of Tumulus.
A.B.C.D. Side Chambers.



Large CROMLECH, L'ANCRESSE,
GUERNSEY.

CREUX-DES-FÉES

Round Barrow.



1. Western Chamber.
2. Covered way.
3. Stone circle at base of Tumulus.
4. Roofing stone displaced.

GUERNSEY.

supports and cap-stones of ours are tolerably flat, they are so either naturally, or by having had their uneven surfaces slightly worked down; but as a rule they present a decidedly irregular appearance. "The stones are usually joined as close together as their shape will permit, for they seldom present any traces of having been squared with a tool," (Celt, Roman and Saxon, p. 52.) The supports do not fit well together, and the gaps are filled in with smaller stones to keep back the earth; and the same thing is done with the interstices between the covering stones.

There is another point to be noticed in the construction of these Danish sepulchral monuments which exhibits a feature common to those in our Islands but uncommon in Brittany. You will recollect that Mr. Worsaae mentioned a circle of stones as surrounding the mound on which the cromlech was situated. This is a feature with which we are familiar, but it is not common in Brittany. Dr. Fouquet describes a Dolmen near Kerfily, which has a circle of stones round it, and remarks: "Ce Dolmen est entouré de Menhirs formant un cromlech, ce qui est un fait rare dans le Morbihan." [This Dolmen is surrounded by Menhirs, composing a cromlech, a rare occurrence in the Morbihan,] p. 55. The only other instance in the Morbihan, which he mentions, is at Ville-au-Voyer, p. 74.

Another point which must be touched upon in connection with them is, that these chambers had covered ways or alleys leading from the outside of the mound into the inner chambers.[1] This would be unnecessary in the case of the Danish cromlech, perched upon the top of the mound, which was always easily accessible, but would be absolutely essential in the case of the giants' chambers or larger cromlechs, buried deeply in the tumulus. The former was probably the tomb of only one or two individuals, whereas the latter was the sepulchre of a family or tribe, and was very frequently opened to receive the ashes of the dead. In the large cromlech at L'ancresse in Guernsey there were two distinct layers of interment, and as many as 100 persons, men, women and children, had been buried. This cromlech contained also about 150

[1] See Plates.

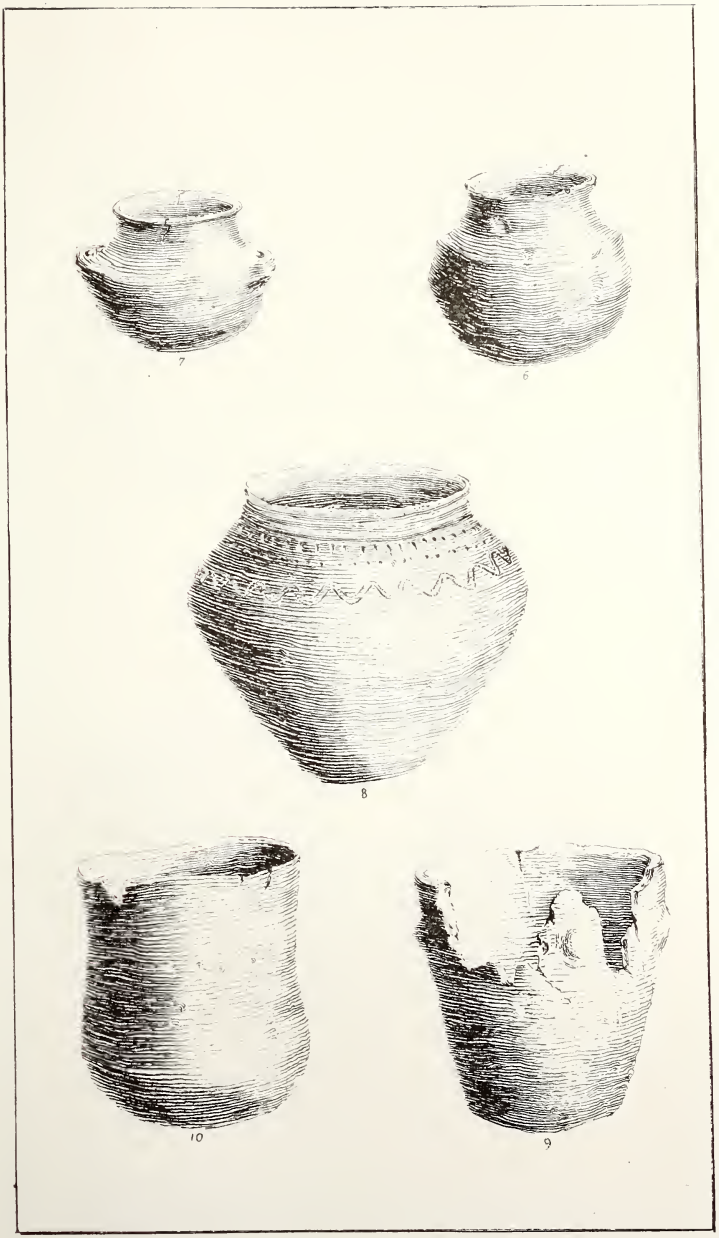
clay vessels. For a like reason, no doubt, the larger cromlechs of the Morbihan were similarly furnished with covered ways. Near Hennebont, however, there is one without, which gives occasion for the remark from Dr. Fouquet: "Les Dolmens sans allée sont assez rares, et doivent appeler la reflexion." The covered way leading to the chamber of the Tumiac is remarkably short for so gigantic a tumulus.[1]

Before passing on to the subject of Burial Customs, there is one other point which should be noticed, viz., the orientation of cromlechs. Mr. Worsaae remarks: "no general rule can be stated as to the direction in which they lie. They are most frequently met with from east to west; they also lie from south to north, and from north-east to south-west. The aborigines do not seem to have confined themselves to any precise rule in the erection of such monuments," (pp. 78—79.)

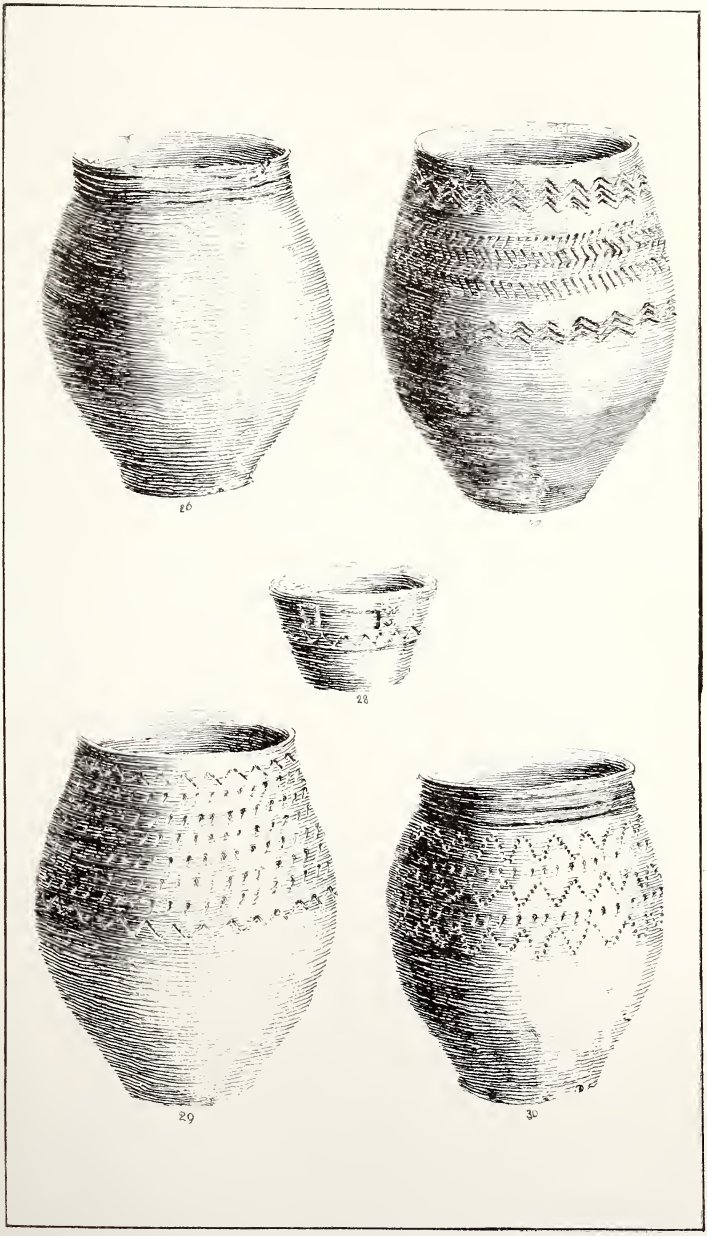
I am inclined to think that the aborigines had a rule, although for some reason they thought fit to depart from it occasionally. Mr. Worsaae allows above that cromlechs "are *most frequently* met with from east to west." The same may be observed in Gaul, in the Channel Islands, and in Britain. By far the greater number are east and west, or vary to the north and south of east. Very few are north and south. I cannot believe that this orientation is the result of accident. It must have been intentional, and perhaps may have had some connection with the worship of the Sun. This theory would account for the variation from due east and west, just as in the case of churches, according to the time of year at which the erection was commenced.

Another circumstance worthy of being noted is that most of the more important stone chambers are in long barrows. In Brittany, the tumulus of Heléu (east and west, 300 feet long by 100 feet wide, and 30 feet high, with a stone chamber at the east end) near Locmariaquer; the Butte de César (400 feet long, 100 feet wide, and 30 feet high, south-east and north-west,) and Gavr'inis are

[1] This chamber resembles in some particulars the constructions of Stoney-Littleton, Uley, &c. It is situated on the east side of the tumulus, and has its opening east by south.



Urns from Large Cromlech, L'Aucresse, Guernsey.



Urns from Cromlech (Du-Tus) Guernsey.

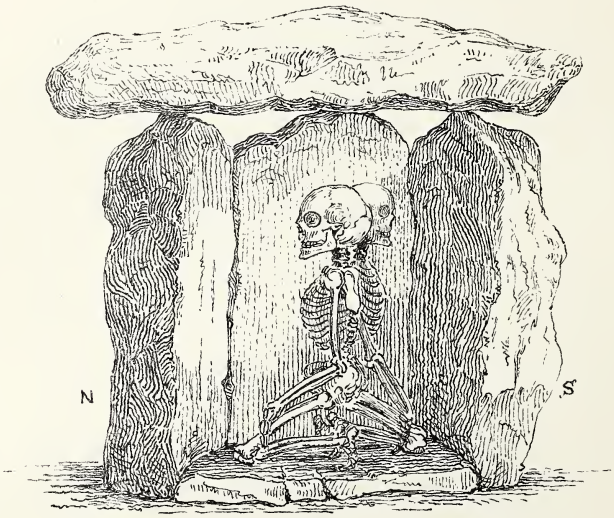
long barrows. There is another long barrow (north-west and south-east) to the south of the first two. These contain immense cromlechs. The cromlech near Silbury Hill, Wilts, is at the east end of a long barrow, (322 feet long, 78 feet wide, east and west.) To the south-east of this last is a long barrow with a stone chamber at its east end; and still further south on Alton Down is another. On Tidcombe Hill is a long barrow (188 feet long, 75 feet wide, north and south), with a stone chamber at its south end. Uley barrow, Gloucestershire (120 feet long, 85 feet wide and 10 feet high,) is a cairn of stones, and its chambers are constructed like those of Stoney Littleton near Bath. Near Rockley is a small long barrow with a stone chamber at its east end. Hubba's Low is a long barrow (160 feet long, east and west) with two stone cists. At Luckington is a long barrow containing a cist. The barrow called Lugbury, near Littleton Drew is a long barrow (east and west 180 feet long, 90 feet wide) with a stone chamber at its east end. At West Amesbury was a long barrow (now destroyed) with a cist at one end. Kingsmill barrow at Monkton near Avebury, was a long barrow, (now destroyed) containing a cist. Stoney Littleton near Bath (107 feet long, 54 feet wide, 13 feet high, south-east and north-west) is a long barrow. This is not so in Guernsey, in Herm, and I believe in Jersey—the large stone chambers of these islands are, or were, in *circular* barrows. The barrow at New Grange, Ireland, is also circular, and has the entrance to its chamber on the south-south-east side. (Higgins Celt. Druids, p. xli.)

With regard to the orientation of long barrows, Mr. Cunnington remarks (Archæologia, vol. xv., p. 339), "By much the greater part of our long barrows stand nearly east and west, having the east end much wider than the other, and at this end we generally find some skeletons. In these long barrows we find a greater resemblance to each other than in the circular, but from finding no urns, arms, or trinkets of any kind, we are more at a loss for a clue to their history than we are to the latter." Sir R. Colt Hoare likewise observes (Archæologia, vol. xix., p. 43) that long barrows point most frequently east and west. The barrow on Fairmile

near Collingbourne Kingston, 126 feet long, is east and west; so also is the one near Shepherd's Shore (opened by Dr. Thurnam). There are about thirty long barrows in Wilts, and only three of them are north and south.

Pass we now to the Burial Customs of these primeval races. Mr. Worsaae states that in the Danish tombs of the stone period the bodies of the deceased were generally deposited entire, and that cremation was not regularly practised until the succeeding, or bronze, period. "We have seen how the aborigines lived and laboured, let us now briefly consider in what way they interred their dead. The bodies were not burned but placed in chambers which were formed of large flat stones within elevated mounds or barrows, &c. The bodies were also occasionally deposited in vessels of burnt clay," (p. 20.) "The tombs of the stone period usually contain unburnt corpses, while those in the barrows of the bronze period, generally speaking, have been burnt," (p. 99.)

This seems to me, so far as my investigations have gone, to be unsubstantiated as regards the Channel Islands. It is certain that cremation was practised in the *earliest* period of the stone age in Guernsey, for one third of the area of the large stone chamber at L'ancresse was occupied by burnt corpses, and this too in the *lowest* stratum of human remains. I cannot speak with any certainty respecting the practice in England, so very many cromlechs having been carelessly opened, and their contents scattered without any record. The long barrow at Stoney Littleton, and the cromlech at Temple Bottom near Marlborough examined by myself, contained both burnt and unburnt bones. Mr. Cunnington mentions a cromlech in a long barrow, which he opened, in which there was a large quantity of burnt human bones. In the Morbihan I observed, in almost every instance where cromlechs had been recently explored, portions of burnt bones lying near. It is probable therefore that both customs were in use at the same time, or else that the practice changed during the long period of the stone age. Mr. Thomas Wright thinks "there is no evidence to support the conjectures of some writers that these different modes of burial belong to different dates. It seems more probable that they were fashions



Kneeling Skeletons

found in Side Chamber B
(see plan, page 153.)

Gromlech DU TUS,

GUERNSEY.

adopted by different families, or by subdivisions of tribes or septs," (Celt, Roman and Saxon, p. 66.) This remark he applies to the ordinary tumuli, but it is applicable also to those of which I have been treating. Sir R. Colt Hoare, when describing the contents of Stoney Littleton remarks: "The remains of bones prove that the two systems of burial were here adopted,—the interment of the body entire and cremation: and after the most minute investigation I have never been able to separate with any degree of certainty, by two distinct periods, these different modes of burial," (Archæologia, vol. xix., p. 47.)

There is one striking dissimilarity between the Burial Customs of the Danish and of the British and French races. Mr. Worsaae says that the "chambers, and even the entrances, are filled with trodden earth and pebbles, the object of which doubtless was to protect the repose of the dead in their graves." It is certain that the Guernsey cromlechs were originally dark chambers, occupied merely by the mortal remains of the ancient people, and never filled in with earth trodden in at the period of the interments. In one of the side chambers of Du Tus, Guernsey, there was an appearance of intentional filling up of the interior at the period of the interment. This was in the remarkable instance of the two kneeling corpses which were probably supported in this posture by earth filled in and pressed around them.[1] But this is the only instance hitherto met with, and certainly belongs to a comparatively late period. My father remarks, with regard to the contents of these cromlechs, in the Archæological Journal, June, 1844, "In most instances the mode of fracture (of the vessels) was indicated by the edge of the fragments, and confirmed the supposition of the *gradual filling* of those vessels which had retained an upright position. The lower stratum which contained the original or more ancient materials must have lain undisturbed for many years before the next layer covered it." And a strong proof of the chamber having been comparatively empty is afforded by the occasional occurrence of supports, which have fallen, resting upon the ashes of the dead.

[1] See Plate.

Then again the human remains and pottery, although in many instances broken and intermingled, are as a rule in the lowest stratum. Had the chambers been originally filled up with trodden earth, the objects would have been scattered throughout the entire mass, if an interval had occurred between the several interments, or if plunderers had taken the trouble to fling the contents in again. But, in fact, whenever we do observe traces of an early disturbance, they occur in the lowest stratum. I know from personal investigation, that the same was the case in the cromlechs of the Morbihan.

What conclusions are we to draw from this comparison? Were they the original Celtic people who constructed the Danish, as well as our own and the French cromlechs? There is, I think, a sufficiently strong family likeness to induce us to believe that the races who constructed them must have had a common origin, while at the same time, the differences in their construction and burial customs would indicate a modification of ideas and habits resulting either from foreign influence, want of mutual and frequent intercourse, or from a difference in their age. But upon which side are we to lay the change, and to which should we give the priority of date? The following description of the earliest occupants of Denmark may be a true picture of the others. "The first inhabitants were rude and uncultivated in the highest degree. They did not commonly possess a knowledge of copper, of iron, or of any metals; they formed all their implements and weapons of wood, of the bones of animals, and of stone," (Primev. Antiq., p. 11.) So far we can perhaps trace no difference between the races. But Mr. Worsaae intends this to be a description of an older people than the Celts; whilst we have always attributed our cromlechs and this mode of life to this race. His notion is that cromlechs are *not Celtic monuments at all,* but belong to a people who preceded the Celts. This is his view;—he divides ancient sepulchral monuments into three distinct periods, viz., of stone, of bronze, and of iron.[1]

[1] It has been said by a learned archæologist (Mr. T. Wright), that to talk of a stone age, or of a bronze age, or of an iron age, is mere poetry or imagination, and that such divisions have no meaning in history. I cannot but think that

The race that erected those of the stone period in Denmark was different from the race that lived in the bronze period, because of their completely different barrows and funeral ceremonies, and because he observes no gradual transition from the simple implements and weapons of stone to the beautifully wrought tools and arms of bronze. The monuments and customs of the iron period were, he thinks, merely the result of a greater development of civilization, and a more lively intercourse with other nations, and did not belong to a third race. He shows clearly enough that the aboriginal race could not have been Fins, but not so clearly, I think, that they were not Celts. He inclines to the belief that the cromlechs of Denmark, Britain, and other countries where they occur, "belonged to an older race who in the course of time have disappeared before the immigration of more powerful nations, without leaving behind them any memorials except the cromlechs of stone in which they deposited their dead, and the implements which by the nature of their materials were protected from decay," pp. 132, 133. "All facts seem to shew," he says, "that the first people who inhabited the North of Europe were without doubt nomadic races of whom the Laplanders, or as they were formerly called the Fins, are the remains, who had no settled habitations, but lived on vegetables, roots, hunting and fishing. After them came another race who evidently advanced a step further in civilization, and possessed regular and fixed habitations. They diffused themselves along those coasts which afforded them fitting opportunities for fishing and hunting. They did not penetrate the interior parts of Europe which were at that time full of immense woods and bogs. They wanted metals for felling trees, and so opening the interior of the country, for which their simple instruments of stone were insufficient. They followed only the open coasts and

there is some truth in the view which he rejects. It has never been satisfactorily demonstrated that cromlechs contain both stone and metal implements; on the contrary, metal has *never* been met with in the *earliest* interments. Therefore there is something more than mere imagination in the "stone age;" and my belief is, that where metal has been found it belongs to a transition period. There may not be so strong a line of demarcation between the bronze and iron ages.

shores of rivers and large lakes. *To this period* belong the cromlechs, giants' chambers, and the antiquities of stone and bone," p. 134. "Then followed races who possessed metals and some degree of civilization, and by them was agriculture first regularly established. Among these races there were, in the west, the above-named Celts....." "It will at once be seen that the stone period must be of extraordinary antiquity....." "It is therefore no exaggeration if we attribute to the stone period an antiquity of at least 3000 years," p. 135.

I do not think that this is very convincing as regards the constructors of cromlechs. It is quite possible for their antiquity to be as remote as this, and yet for them to be the work of Celtic races. "Scholars and chronologists," writes Mr. Bateman, in his 'Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire,' "generally agree in stating that 2100 years B.C. the Celts passed the Thracian Bosphorus, and gradually extended themselves over the western parts of the old world, until they attained the coasts of Gaul, whence they crossed over into Britain, an event supposed to have taken place about 1600 years B.C." This would seem to be a sufficiently high antiquity to satisfy the most ardent and enthusiastic antiquary. When Scholars and Chronologists, like Doctors, sometimes differ, who is the wise and skilful man who will reconcile them? Here, e.g. is another, and no mean scholar's, opinion: "Druidism in Gaul and Britain were one religion, and almost one system, and the ædificia of both countries, Cæsar says, were similar. Therefore the whole argument applies to the megalithic works of both countries," (Cyclops Christianus, p. 25.) "It is apparent to every unprepossessed mind that the Armorican structures should have no earlier founder (however later they may be) than Cynan of Meriadawg, in the reign of Maximus and latter half of the 4th century. For it has never been pretended that any colony of insular Britons took possession of that part of Gaul at any period anterior to the expedition of Maximus," Ibid, p. 29. "The subject is quite uncertain, but all that talk of a vague antiquity, which is so freely hazarded, is gratuitous, and belongs to an unscrupulous habit of assuming and asserting," p. 237. The

Reviewer of a "Hand-book for Travellers in Wilts, Dorset, and Somersetshire," in the Quarterly Review of July, 1860, adopts Mr. Herbert's view. "Pending some more systematic investigation, we may rest content with the approximate certainty that all the great stone monuments of this country belong to the period that elapsed between the departure of the Romans and the conquest of the country by the Danes and Saxons," p. 211.

How, I say, are these differing scholars to be reconciled? One is for making cromlechs to belong to a people older than the Celts, and for an antiquity of 3000 years at least. The other is for bringing them down to the end of the 4th century of the Christian era. I am not going to undertake the task. When a subject like the present belongs to a pre-historic age, a good deal must be left to conjecture. All I would say with regard to my own belief is that I most decidedly reject Mr. Herbert's view both as regards cromlechs in general and Stonehenge in particular. It is not at all complimentary to the highly civilized Romans as instructors, and to the intelligence and aptitude of the Britons as learners, after a schooling of 500 years, to suppose that after the departure of the former, the latter should have degenerated into such a rude uncivilized race as to be the authors of these buildings. For, however we may dwell with wonder and astonishment upon the gigantic physical efforts and great mechanical skill which produced very many of them, they are after all the productions of rude uncultivated minds.

With regard to the other view, I admit that I do not see my way. Upon the point of their antiquity I should be quite willing to fraternize; for 3000 years would still bring cromlechs within the Celtic period; but I do not at present perceive any good reason for supposing that they were the work of an anterior race to the Celts. It should be first clearly proved that the Celtic races in *their earliest days* of European residence were not only a tolerably civilized people, but that they were possessed of metals and acquainted with their use; but there is no proof of this. The trading of the Phœnicians with the Celts, from which period we may perhaps date the commencement of their civilization, is only

fixed by chronologists at about 600 years B.C. which will leave the pretty wide margin of one thousand years as regards Britain, and two or three hundred years more as regards other portions of western Europe, for the period of their ruder and more uncultivated existence. It is possible therefore that this longer period of twelve hundred years may have comprehended the stone age, which was succeeded by the bronze and iron periods of their commercial life; and it is a remarkable fact that cromlechs and megalithic structures abound in those portions of western Europe which the Celts are known to have occupied undisturbed for many centuries. Some writers observe that it is "vain to speculate upon the age" of these monuments; but it should seem as if their *construction* and *contents* should be some guide to the era of their erection. While the colossal dimensions of many would attest the physical power and energy of the people, their rude construction, the absence of metal, and the simplicity of their burial customs, would indicate a primeval race, entirely excluded from commercial intercourse with the then civilized nations of the world if any existed. If their mechanical genius was great, it was limited in its exercise by their ignorance of the use of metal tools. Had they possessed iron, e.g. they would assuredly have applied it to fashion the natural rude masses of stone, employed in their structures. This kind of reasoning has been pronounced "whimsical" (Cyclops Christian. p. 82), but to me it appears only reasonable.

But the question remains unanswered,—on which side are we to lay the *change*, if any, of ideas and customs, and to attribute a priority of settlement, supposing the Celts to have been the people who raised these monuments? The question of altered habits is difficult to solve, because we have to learn, first of all, which country received the prior occupation,—Denmark or Gaul. No doubt the simple and precarious mode of life of the Celtic tribes, and the natural obstacles which they had to encounter in their progress westward, would prevent a rapid and wide extension of themselves. Vast forests, morasses and mountain ranges are obstacles not quickly and easily overcome. They would probably follow the course of rivers, and we may well suppose that after

crossing the Bosphorus, and in course of time hitting upon the Danube, they would move along its shores until they reached the Rhine, and so gained the western coasts of Europe. But their journey, if that may be called a journey which was a slow and gradual advance, must have occupied a very long period, and during this time they must have greatly multiplied wherever they formed temporary settlements. It is very likely that at first, after crossing the Bosphorus they occupied Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece, for a considerable time, where sepulchral monuments corresponding with ours are said to have been observed and described by Homer, Pausanias and others, as objects of antiquity; and were subsequently driven thence westward by the advancing Scythians, until they were finally concentrated in Gaul, Britain, and Denmark.

It is natural to suppose that in their slow movement westward they would stretch out right and left, yet in approaching Gaul there was an almost insuperable barrier on their right, in the enormous Hercynian forest extending from the Rhine in a north-easterly direction for hundreds of miles towards the Baltic sea. This must have prevented their ready admission into the lands to the north of that river, and compelled them to enter Gaul first. I should therefore be inclined to believe that Gaul and probably Britain were occupied by the Celts for some time before Denmark was inhabited. After all, this is mere conjecture; but I am endeavouring, on the supposition that Europe was first peopled by the descendants of Japheth, and that they were Celts, to account for differences or changes in the construction of Danish cromlechs, and in burial customs which I think possess features of a later date than those of Gaul. It is not improbable, however, that Denmark was peopled, not by the Celts, but by a Teutonic race.

On this point there has been as much speculation as about the period of the erection of cromlechs. Men of ability have taken very different views of the matter, though most, if not all, agree in saying that the Celts came from Asia. One of them, Dr. Meyer, (see Latham's Pritchard, p. 380) thinks that they came from Asiatic Scythia, by two principal routes, to western Europe and this country. The one stream took a south-west direction through

Syria and Egypt, the northern coast of Africa, across the pillars of Hercules, through Spain to Gaul, where it divided itself into three branches, the northern of which terminated in Great Britain and Ireland,—the southern in Italy,—and the eastern, running along the Alps and the Danube, terminated near the Black Sea, not far from the point where the whole stream is likely to have originated. The other stream, passing through European Scythia, thence partly through Scandinavia, partly along the Baltic, through Prussia and through Northern Germany, reached England across the German ocean. Of these two streams the former seems to be the more ancient, and to have reached this country several centuries before the other.

Now this, in respect of the route of the earliest stream, seems a very circuitous way of getting from east to west, and would have occupied a vast period of time. But this view supports the opinion I have expressed with regard to the Celtic settlements in Gaul and Britain having taken place before Denmark was peopled, and at the same time asserts the Teutonic origin of the Danish people.

I trust I have succeeded in making it plain that there is a difference between the Danish and the British and Gaulish cromlechs, and that there is good reason to believe that the former are not so ancient as the latter; and also that cromlechs *of all kinds* are the chambers of barrows either round or long. But before I close I wish to say a word upon the *nomenclature* of these sepulchral remains. It would be very desirable either to get rid of the word "cromlech," or instead of limiting it, as has been usual, to the stone chamber, to apply it to the whole monument, including the tumulus and the surrounding circle of stones. This would tend to remove some of the confusion which has arisen from the French and English opposite use of the word,—the French applying it only to the outer circle, and the English to the inner chamber. If the word cromlech were got rid of, it would then be better to classify tumuli or barrows, and to describe them as either *circular* or *long*, and each of these again as either chambered or unchambered, which I think would include all sorts and kinds. But if it should

be thought desirable to retain the word, then it would be better to call *chambered* tumuli alone cromlechs, and all other barrows tumuli. A great deal of confusion has arisen from the want of a proper generally recognized nomenclature among European antiquaries. Mr. Worsaae himself appears to have no very definite idea upon the subject, for he remarks: "In the west of Europe there appears not to have been any transition from the cromlech to the barrow; they are totally different," (p. 132.) He never would have made such a remark if he had held the view I have been endeavouring to set forth and explain, viz. that there is no such thing as a "cromlech" *per se;* and that the sepulchral chambers, which are now so denominated, had originally no existence apart from the covering mound. The late Mr. Kemble gives us incidentally a negative proof of this fact, although his remarks are intended to show that the Anglo-Saxons "attached no special importance to these stone structures," i.e. supposing them to have visibly existed. He writes in vol. xiv., p. 129 of the Archæological Institute, on "Notices on Heathen Interments in the Codex Diplomaticus;" :—"I think when we bear in mind how very numerous and widely spread over all England were the stone-beds, Circles, Dolmens, and the like, that the very rare notices of them in these Documents is strange and unintelligible. Although it does occur, and more frequently than is generally supposed, it yet bears no proportion at all to the number of references which was made to barrows. I must confess that this appears to me to prove that the Saxons attached no special importance to these stone structures, and did not look upon them as anything peculiarly sacred or extraordinary; not more in short than they did any single stone or set of stones of great size and venerable antiquity. To these we well know they, in common with all Teutonic populations, did devote a civil and religious observance; but I can find very few indications that the Saxons saw any difference between the crom lechs and any other stones,—nothing at any rate to show that they considered them with any peculiar reverence." If the view I have taken be correct, which there can be no reasonable doubt of, then the absence of allusions in Anglo-Saxon documents to

cromlechs, as visible stone structures, is easily accounted for.

Mr. Kemble adds: "I am nevertheless perfectly satisfied that they do refer to them here and there under the well known title of 'se háran stán, ðа háran stánas,' the hoary or grey or ancient stones, for which we do also find 'ðа grægean' or grey stones. The Anglo-Saxon boundaries do very frequently run to the old grey stone or hoary stone or stones, and among them it is reasonable to believe that sometimes cromlechs or stone rings were intended." This is begging the question, and with all due respect for Mr. Kemble, improbable in the highest degree as regards cromlechs. Because, in order that stones should be entitled to the distinction of grey or hoary, they must have been exposed to the elements for a long series of years. But cromlechs were most certainly not exposed during the Anglo-Saxon period, or if the upper parts of their cap-stones were in any degree then uncovered, they could only have been so for a short time. At all events so very little of the entire structure must have been visible that those portions which were seen would not have presented such a remarkable appearance as Mr. Kemble implies. It is unfortunate too for his statement that he should have specified an instance, for it happens to be one which strongly opposes it. "There is," he says, "as far as I know, only one very definite allusion to a cromlech, or rather to a stone kist, which as it stands in a boundary was of course (?) above ground, and probably resembled the magnificent structure at Coldburn in Kent, which is planted upon a hill overlooking the country far and wide. The allusion occurs in the boundary of Céoselden (Chiselden) in Wilts;—of "ðám ðorne on ða stáncysten on Holancumbe," (Cod. Dip. 730)—i.e. from the thorn to the stone kist on Holcumbe, from the stone kist to the Blackman's barrow. Now as Holancumbe means literally "the hollow hill, the hill with a cavity or chamber in it," it is clear that the allusion is not to a visible stone structure, but to a chambered tumulus, a tumulus which was known to contain a stone cist. Mr. Kemble also assumes that "the magnificent structure at Coldburn" was always *above ground*.[1]

[1] It is also an assumption to suppose that the chamber of the long barrow near Ashdown, Berks, was exposed in the year A.D. 955, because in a charter of Eadred the tumulus is named as "Welandes Smiððan."

The truth is that the application of the term "cromlech" to monuments such as these is quite modern, not older probably than the close of the 16th century, and Welsh Historians or Antiquaries may have originated it. The Celtic form of the word has favoured its general use, and led to wild theories and absurd mistakes. It is very remarkable how soon it was forgotten that the word was of modern origin, and the definitions given of it by antiquaries of the last and present centuries are very amusing. The universal idea was that these denuded stone chambers were altars. Accordingly Mr. Toland in 1726, in his "History of the Druids," a most dogmatic work, says: "the larger kind of altar was termed *by the Britons*, cromlech," and gives the definition of the word from "crom or crum, which in Armoric, Irish or Welsh, signifies *bent*, and lech, or leach, a broadstone, because people bowed down in reverence before it," (vol. ii., pp. 96, 97). "These altars" writes Mr. Rowland, "were and are to this day vulgarly called by the name of cromlech, either from their bending position, which is generally believed, or rather that these first men, I shall adventure to guess, carried the name with them from Babel, as they did several other words, and called it 'cæremlech' from the Hebrew, 'a devoted stone or altar.'" (Mona Antiqua, p. 47.)

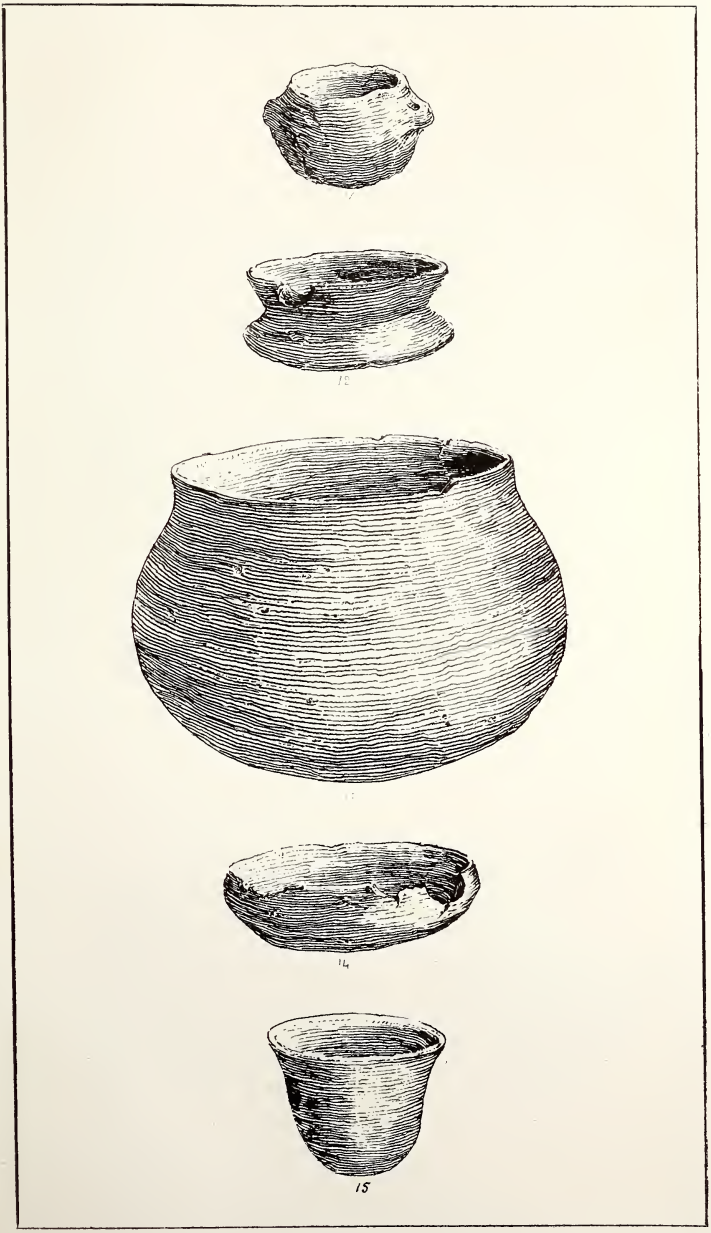
It is impossible to say what name "the first men" gave to these structures, but we know that the Anglo-Saxons called tumuli by the names of Low (hlœw) and barrow (beorh, bearw). Cromlech was a name unknown at that period. It had its origin in a time of archæological ignorance, when the true nature and use of these structures were not understood; and was invented to express the false ideas that were then afloat respecting them. A recent writer (Sir J. Gard. Wilkinson) on "British Remains on Dartmoor," remarks that the age of the word is unimportant, and that no one requires it to have been current in the time of the Druids. I must dissent from this, and say that the age of a word is a matter of considerable importance when erroneous notions are originated and propagated by its adoption and use. The observation of the same writer that "cromlech is a name used by the peasants," is not borne out by my experience. In Ireland, e.g. these structures are popularly

regarded as the graves or tombs of ancient heroes, and are called "leaba," beds of such an one, or else in general "cloch," the stone of such an one, (See Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society for 1850.) In the Channel Islands they are called Pouquelays, Creux-des Feès, Tombeaux, Autels, &c., and never cromlechs. In France, a cromlech signifies a circle; and stone chambers are called Dolmens,[1] but most commonly bear local vernacular names. In England very few, if any, are known by the name, except by antiquaries. I very much doubt if the peasants would know what was meant, if you were to ask them to direct you to a cromlech. The fact is that in most countries the original appellation of many of these structures has been lost through lapse of ages, and new names have been given to them in comparatively modern times, by those who had only known them in their denuded and dilapidated condition or were ignorant of their uses: e.g. in Guernsey, the large cromlech at L'ancresse was not known to exist before the year 1811, yet is now called "The Druid's Altar." That known as "La Roche qui sonne" in the same Island bears a recent name. Again in Brittany the name given to a Dolmen with a gigantic cap-stone "Dol-a-Marchand," is obviously modern; and so with many others, such as "La butte de Cæsar, Kerwen-Tangui" near Auray; "Kits Cotty House," &c. Many bear no distinctive name at all, and are known as "cromlechs," only by antiquaries.

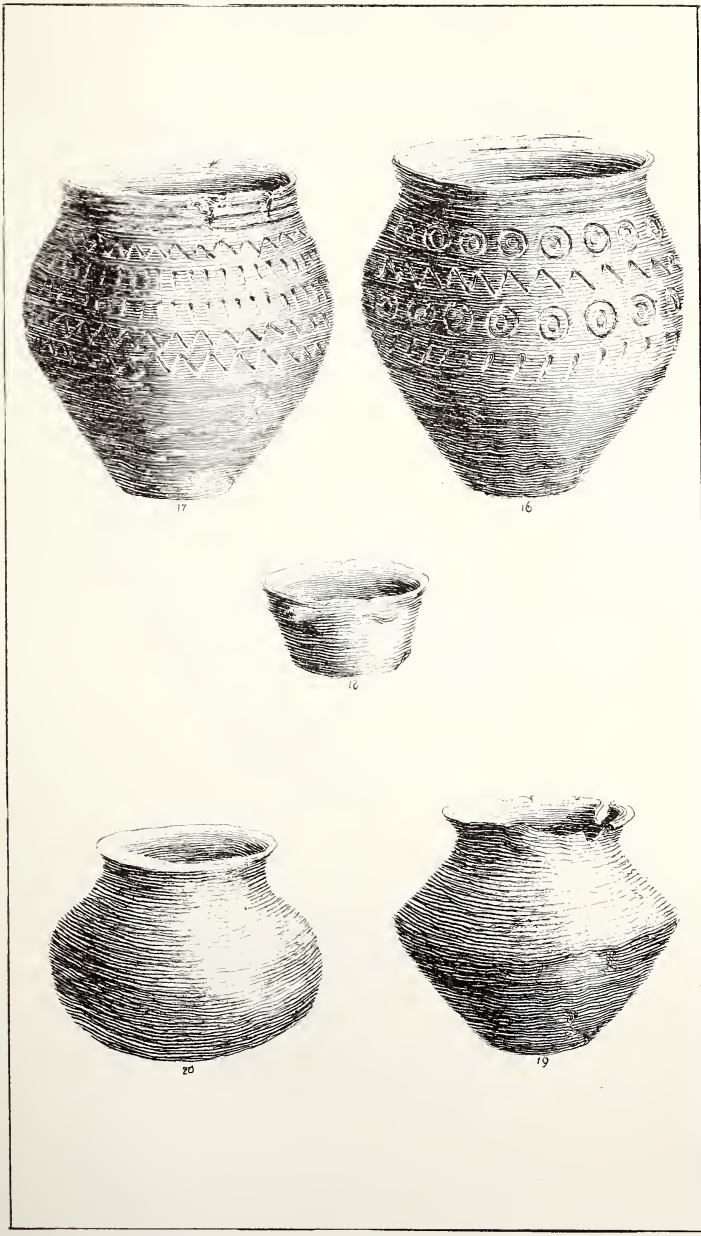
The classification of cromlechs by some antiquaries appears to be as far from being probable as Sir R. C. Hoare's classification of barrows; and so is the distinction drawn between "cromlechs" and "subterranean chambers," where the former are supposed not to have been covered with a tumulus. This classification is the result of an insufficient acquaintance with the true nature and original construction of this kind of monument.

I have purposely abstained from applying the term "Druidical" to these remains, because there is no reason for supposing them to have belonged to the period when the so-called religion of the Druids was prevalent. The exceeding rudeness of the clay vessels,

[1] The word "Dolmen" has probably no greater antiquity than "cromlech,"



Urns from Cromlechs in Channel Islands.



Urns from Large Cromlech, L'Ancresse, Guernsey.

Urns from Large Cromlech, L'Ancresse, Guernsey.

implements and ornaments, accompanying the *earliest* interments in them, and the total absence of metal, would remove them to a date anterior to the period of commercial intercourse with the Phœnicians, when the use of metals is said to have been introduced into Britain. At that time we have no knowledge of the existence of Druidism. Mr. Wright says that "the mass of our British antiquities belongs to an age immediately preceding the arrival of the Romans, and to the period which followed." (Celt. Roman and Saxon, p. 86.) This remark must be intended to apply to the contents of ordinary barrows, and not to chambered tumuli. The occasional appearance of a gold ornament or of a coin, &c., only proves that these sepulchral vaults were used for centuries,—the coin, &c., belonging to the most recent interments. The gold collars in the chambered tumulus at Plouharnel in Brittany, were not found in the main western chamber, but in a modern cist in the avenue leading to the main chamber. The silver bracelet in "La Roche qui sonne," Guernsey, belonged to a comparatively recent interment in a much more ancient tomb. Mr. Bateman in his "Derbyshire Vestiges" mentions the discovery of a remarkable brass dagger, silvered over, together with flint instruments, in a cromlech between Windle Nook and Buxton, but the monument is clearly, by its construction, a stone cist of a later date than the cromlechs of which I have been speaking. The same may be said of the chambered tumulus on Minninglowe Hill, described by the same author. So too with regard to the so-called cromlech in Belgium on the borders of the Ardennes, mentioned by Mr. Wright, containing a Roman interment.

The Fungi of Wiltshire.

By C. E. Broome, Esq.

IN offering to the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society, a list of such Fungi as have occurred to me in the county, I am prompted by the wish to draw attention to a class of plants hitherto very much neglected, which will however, amply repay persons fond of natural history for any trouble they may take in their investigation. The list is a very imperfect one, and the more so, as it has not been put together with a view to publication, but is, with one or two exceptions, a mere catalogue of the species in my own herbarium, which have been met with in the county of Wilts. Whilst collecting specimens, the commoner species, or such as I may have already obtained from other quarters, have been frequently passed over; so that many of the more common Wiltshire forms are, no doubt, omitted. Although often considered unworthy attention, or even repulsive in their nature, Fungi can boast of having among their ranks individuals that equal in point of colour and symmetry, anything that the flower garden can produce, and others of a more sober hue, which, in the elegance and beauty of their forms, are not to be surpassed by any members of the vegetable kingdom. To the microscopist they afford an almost inexhaustible source of entertainment and gratification; to ladies more especially, or such persons as cannot extend their researches far from home, they present this advantage, that numerous objects well deserving careful study may be met with in their own gardens on all decaying vegetable matter, or may even be raised in any damp cupboard on a plate of sour paste, or boiled rice; and those persons who are skilful with their pencil will here find materials whose fugitive beauties it will test all their powers to commit to paper.

Considerable difficulties have hitherto attended the study of these

plants, owing to the want of the necessary descriptive books, which if unaccompanied by figures are very unintelligible, at least to a beginner, whilst the presence of plates renders such works too expensive for general use. The literature too of the subject has, till lately, remained scattered through a variety of scientific journals and periodicals, so that an extensive library has been necessary to any one, who wished to become master of it.

In 1857 however M. Bailliere published a work entitled "Introduction to Cryptogamic Botany," written by the Rev. M. J. Berkeley our great authority on the Fungi of Britain, and in 1860 Messrs. Reeves brought out the "Outlines of British Fungology" by the same author, both works enriched by numerous figures, the former relating chiefly to structural details, the latter giving coloured representations of the larger and higher species of British Fungi. Aided by these two works the labor of the student is now comparatively easy, so far at least as the higher tribes of these plants are concerned. It is much to be desired that a work on the lower tribes, on the same plan as the last named book, should be carried on under the same auspices.

It has been intimated to me that a slight sketch of the nature and systematic arrangement of Fungi, according to the more recent writers, should accompany the present list. I shall therefore avail myself of the kind permission of the Rev. M. J. Berkeley, to make any use I like of his writings, by presenting his views to the readers of the Wiltshire Archæological Magazine, as I am conscious that in no other words could it be done in so concise, and intelligible a manner.

Fungi occupy a position in the vegetable kingdom intermediate between Algæ on the one side, and Lichens on the other, they differ from the former in their place of growth, and from the latter in deriving their nourishment from the substance on which they grow through their mycelium. Algæ growing in the water, or in very damp places, imbibe their nourishment through their whole surface, and are propagated by bodies called zoospores, tetraspores, &c. Lichens, on the other hand, growing in the air, derive their nutriment equally through their whole surface, and are propagated

by bodies usually inclosed in asci, called sporidia, as well as by green bodies, called gonidia, which occur in their frond or thallus. Fungi derive their nourishment through their mycelium from the substance on which they grow, and are chiefly propagated by bodies, called, according to the mode in which they are developed, sporidia or spores. They may be defined as flowerless plants, formed of cells or threads, or both combined, growing chiefly on decaying organic substances, or on earth, a few only occurring on living animal, or vegetable, tissues, variously coloured, and never accompanied by reproductive green bodies, like Lichens. Their fructification consists either of cells attached externally to threads which either arise immediately from their mycelium, or from an especial fructificative tissue, and which are then called spores; or of similar bodies produced in little sacs or tubes, and then called sporidia. Spiral filaments exist in a few genera. Fungi are said to absorb oxygen, and exhale carbonic acid, thus performing rather the functions of an animal, than of a vegetable; in consonance with which is the fact of their never assuming a true vegetable green colour, but where green at all, they are of a metallic tint. They may be considered as the scavengers of the vegetable kingdom; no sooner does a plant die, than it is occupied by a variety of species, whose mycelium penetrates it in every direction, and lends its aid to its speedy disintegration. They do not however confine their operation to dead herbaceous, or soft-stemmed plants, but often attack hard woody trunks, and then produce a speedy decay in timber, which might have resisted the mere action of the weather for many years. The Dry Rot, Merulius lacrymans, affords us a good illustration. When perfect, this is a very handsome species, several others however attack timber. Some take possession of living vegetable tissues, chiefly perhaps such as are suffering from atmospheric, or other causes. We may here instance the potatoe disease, produced by Peronospora infestans, and the vine disease, by Oidium Tuckeri. Those great enemies to the farmer, Rust, Smut, and Bunt, are caused by Uredo rubigo, Uredo segetum, and Uredo caries, which attack the cereals in a growing state. Nor are animal tissues exempted from the mischief produced by

Fungi. Botrytis Bassiana causes annually vast loss to the growers of silk in France, by the havoc it makes among the silk-worms, the healthy worms contracting the disease by contact with the spores of the Fungus. The mycelium of Cordyceps entomorrhiza attacks living caterpillars, but does not develope its curious head of fruit till after the animal has buried itself in the earth, for the purpose of changing to a chrysalis, when the mycelium having pervaded the whole interior of the caterpillar, proceeds to develop its stem, surmounted by an ovate head covered with perithecia. One of the most formidable diseases to which man is subject, the Fungus foot of India, is produced by a species of mould, (Chionyphe Carteri). The cutaneous disease in the human frame, called Tinea lupinosa, can be propagated by inoculation with the spores of the Fungus causing it, and several cutaneous disorders have been generated by inoculation with yeast globules. The above are instances of the destructive power of the plants, with which we are concerned. A few words may now be said about their uses, as articles of food, &c. We are all well acquainted with the common Mushroom, and we know what an excellent addition it makes to our culinary department, but few are aware of the uses to which several other species may be put, as articles of food. One very common kind is the Fairy ring Agaric, A. oreades, which if cut in the early unexpanded state, and dressed in white sauce, forms an excellent dish for the table, and is so abundant in some localities, that it might be collected by the bushel. The merits of our Morels and Truffles have been more generally recognized, and they realize a considerable price in Covent Garden. Although the latter are far inferior to the French and Italian kinds, yet they give employment to many of the peasantry in the chalk districts, as in the vicinity of Salisbury and Winchester, who find them during the winter by the aid of dogs trained for the purpose. Those who wish to gain further information about our esculent Fungi, should obtain Dr. Badham's book, which contains a great deal of very useful and entertaining matter, and is written in a pleasant easy style.

Another use to which a member of the Fungus tribe is subservient, is the fermenting of liquors, &c., caused by yeast, which is a

particular state of certain moulds. When placed in conditions favourable to its growth, it spreads rapidly through the wort, or dough, and carries the fermentation into every part. The vinegar plant is another useful application of a Fungus, by which the acetic fermentation can be induced at any time that is required. As a medicine, the Ergot of grasses, or cereals, is celebrated, and its action is so powerful, that when it has been consumed accidentally in bread, it has been known to cause the loss of limbs to a whole family by sloughing off. Rye, however, on which the Ergot chiefly occurs, is not much used in making bread in this country, or such cases might be more frequent than they are. The Ergot is now known to be merely the mycelioid state of a Cordyceps, of which it is easy to raise a crop, by sowing the Ergot in a pot, in autumn, and keeping it till the following spring, when the heads of the Cordyceps appear, rising from a quarter to half an inch above the surface. The mycelium of Peziza æruginosa stains the wood, on which it grows, of a bright verdigris green, and advantage has been taken of this fact by toy-makers, specimens of whose work may be seen in the Museum of the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew.

Having given a few instances out of many that might be produced of the uses of Fungi in the economy of nature and art, we may now turn attention to their modes of development, and reproduction, and then glance at their most recent systematic arrangement. But before doing so, it will be as well to give some hints as to the best mode of preserving them in the herbarium, for the purposes of reference and study.

All that is wanted to collect Fungi, is a light wicker basket for the fleshy kinds, an ordinary botanical tin box for others, with some smaller boxes, as pill boxes, for the more delicate ones, which should be loosely wrapped in thin paper, a sharp knife for cutting off bits from hard trunks, &c., and a common pocket lens. Large woody Polypori, &c., are best dried whole, in a warm air; it is well however, to take a thin slice vertically through their substance, which can be dried between paper, like other plants; this will lie flat in the herbarium, and exhibit the nature of the pores, and inner substance of the pileus, whilst thick entire specimens must

be kept in drawers or boxes. Each specimen should be at once labelled, and numbered, and the locality it came from, and date of finding, should be noted on the label. It is desirable also to take notes, at the time of finding, of the color and any other peculiarities, which are likely to be lost in drying. The Agarics, and fleshy Fungi should be preserved in two ways, a specimen should be dried entire between papers, care being taken to change them frequently, and vertical sections should be made of other specimens quite through the stem and pileus, dividing it into three parts, whereof the centre slice will exhibit the inner substance of the stem and pileus, the width, and form of the gills, &c., whilst the outer sections will show the nature of the clothing of stem and pileus, and the ring, where one exists: the half pileus from one of the outer sections, if the gills are carefully removed, will give a good idea of the form of pileus when viewed from above. It is desirable to make sections of individuals in different stages of growth. The papers should be lightly pressed, to avoid at the same time too great contraction in drying, and any crushing of the cells by too heavy a degree of pressure. Fungi that are clothed with gluten must be partly dried, before pressure, and the papers changed before there is time for adhering. Brittle species, as some Pezizæ, should be allowed to wither before they are subjected to pressure. Agarics and Boleti, the colour of whose spores is used as a means of discrimination, may be placed, on arriving at home, with their hymenium downwards on pieces of white, or black paper, when the colour of their spores will be seen. Truffles should be dried in both ways, i.e. entire in the air, and in sections under pressure. Very delicate Fungi, as minute Pezizæ, and Myxogasters, moulds, &c., should be placed and kept in small thin cardboard cells, as the pressure of the herbarium would soon destroy their characters. These boxes may be obtained of any requisite size and depth, at a cheap rate, of Miss Potts, 34, Hatton Garden, Holborn. The boxes may be gummed on to pieces of paper, and pinned into the herbarium. The hard woody Fungi, such as Sphœriæ, &c., are easily preserved, and they keep their characters for many years. The only precautions requisite, are to poison the

specimens when dry, with corrosive sublimate dissolved in naptha, or any solvent which will not discolour the plants, and to keep the herbarium in a perfectly dry room. The specimens when dry and poisoned, should be gummed to small pieces of paper, on which the locality where found, and date, should be written, and accompanied with measurements and a sketch of the fruit where time permits. These bits of paper may be pinned into sheets of foolscap paper, one or two species, or more, if thought fit, on a sheet, and these sheets placed within other sheets of a larger size. The name of the genus being then written on the outside, at the right hand lower corner of the larger sheet, will afford easy means of reference, when the sheets lie upon one another in a cupboard.

It was remarked above that Fungi differed from Algæ in proceeding from a mycelium, consisting of cells or threads, through which they draw up their nutriment. This mycelium arises at first, from the process put forth by germinating spores, which elongate into threads, and increase by division and growth of the cells, and it may remain barren under circumstances which do not favor the development of its fruit. Sometimes the mycelium is of a horny consistence. The fruit arises subsequently from the mycelium, and as the former is of so very simple a nature, presenting few marks of difference in species systematically far removed from each other, botanists have been compelled to draw their chief characters from the fruit. This generally exceeds by far the vegetative part in bulk, as we see in the Mushroom, where the mycelium consists of only a few threads, scattered through the soil, while the fruit, as we know, grows at times to the largeness of the top of a hat. Moulds differ chiefly from other Fungi, in their mycelium remaining more distinct, and bearing spores on separate threads, instead of on a surface formed by an aggregation of such threads, or cells, Such an aggregation of cells, or threads, is termed an hymenium.

The reproductive bodies of Fungi arise chiefly in two ways from the mycelium, in one case the ends of the threads swell out into club-shaped, or enlarged cells, on whose summit arise small spicules, each of which bears a simple cell, which eventually becomes a spore.

This mode of fructification is called acrosporous, and is met with amongst the more highly developed Fungi, as in Agaricus. In the other case, the tips of the threads of the fructifying surface enlarge themselves, and form tubes or bags, in which a grumous mass soon appears, this is quickly resolved into a mass of sporidia, whose numbers are either definite, or indefinite: in the former case being generally two, or a multiple of two. This mode of fruiting is termed Ascigerous, and in this case the sporidia are often divided by dissepiments into several cells, from each of which a mycelioid thread may be produced.

These two modes of fruit formation, viz., the acrosporous and ascigerous, afford a useful character for forming two grand series. But there is another way in which Fungi may be reproduced, which is by cells developed at the tips of threads, as in the first case, but which are much more irregular in form, &c., than true spores. Fries has named these bodies conidia. Most Fungi produce them in an early stage of their existence, and in that stage they are easily mistaken for other very distinct genera. Hypoxylon vulgare for instance, in an early state, resembles a Clavaria, its tip is then covered with a stratum of conidia, forming a white powder, so that it is a perplexing subject for a beginner to try his hand on: when mature, some months afterwards, it is clothed with a number of perithecia, towards the summit, sunk in the flesh, containing sporidia in asci. Again Hypoxylon deustum, in its youth, clothed with conidia, might pass for a Thelephora, if we were not acquainted with its subsequent history.

Besides conidia other bodies have been observed, which are incapable of germination, but are produced in perithecia, &c., they are supposed to perform the office of pollen in the flowering plants. An instance is afforded in a species of Sphæria occurring on dead holly boughs, which has been named Nectria inaurata. The perithecia in this case produce two forms of fruit in their asci, in the same perithecium, in one there are eight normal sporidia in each ascus, in the other, the asci are crammed with a multitude of minute, ovate bodies, endowed with a peculiar motion when placed in water, called molecular. In Erysiphe, we find sporangia

producing asci with the usual kind of sporidia; conidia, which resemble the genus Oidium, if they do not constitute it; and bodies termed by M. Tulasne, pycnidia, which are perithecia containing a multitude of threads, producing at their tips minute bodies endowed with molecular motion, and which he denominates stylospores. M. Tulasne indeed considers numerous Fungi, hitherto looked on as autonomous plants, to be merely the third forms, or pycnidia of other known species, such are for instance the Genera Sphæropsis, Phoma, Sphæronema, Diplodia, Hendersonia, Cytispora and many others. Among the Moulds too, an attempt has been made to show Aspergillus glaucus to be the state of another Fungus, which is a well-known pest in damp herbaria, viz., Eurotium herbariorum. Pycnidia are easily to be seen on the leaves of the garden anemone, which are infested by Œcidium, they may be found on the back of the leaves, exactly opposite the Œcidium.

The cellular tissue of Fungi assumes very varied forms. In the genus Trichia we find spiral tissue resembling that of Algæ, but as the Myxogasters, to which Trichia belongs, have lately been asserted, by De Bary, to belong to the animal kingdom, and as their early state is very obscure, we may refer to Batarrea, for an example of spiral cells in an undoubted Fungus. It does not appear that these spiral cells can be unrolled as in the spiral vessels of flowering plants, the appearance is probably therefore due to a mere thickening of the cell-walls, in a spiral direction. In some species globose cells are met with, in others club-shaped; others exhibit very long tubular cells, which are well seen in the slime that clothes certain Agarics. Corda distinguishes vessels, which convey the milk-like fluid in some Agarics. The cells of Fungi are often very minute, the spores of some species being not unfrequently less than $\frac{1}{10,000}$ of an inch in length. They are consequently carried through the air by the slightest breath of wind. The sporidia of Pezizæ exhibit the truth of this, for though comparatively large, they are ejected and carried to considerable distances, on the plants being touched.

Fungi attain their maximum, in point of numbers, in temperate regions, the great heat of the tropics, as well as the northern cold, being prejudicial to their rate of increase. No locality is free from

them, but their favourite haunts are damp woods, where there is a luxuriant growth of vegetation, and where timber is suffered to rot away, and wild open heaths, and commons, among oaks, &c., where Agarics and Boleti abound. The appearance of Fungi in localities where they have not been observed before, has given rise, especially among the Germans, to the notion that they can be developed from decaying organic matter, by what they term spontaneous generation, but it is unnecessary to have recourse to so unphilosophical a notion, if we consider the extreme minuteness of their fruit, which has been discovered among the dust carried by the trade winds, perhaps over thousands of miles.

Not only however do Fungi show themselves in new and unexpected localities, but they even make their appearance in places, where it is very difficult to understand their means of access, as Tricothecium in ripe nuts, and the Botrytis of the potatoe in ripe tomatoes.

The history of bunt in wheat shows, that the mycelium has the power of penetrating through the cellular tissues, and there retaining its vitality for long periods. Mr. Berkeley mentions a curious instance of this power, in the occurrence of a mould in the cerebral cavity of Golden Pheasants, which proved fatal to them. And the mycelia of several species may be found in thin sections of wood, where the threads may be seen occupying both intercellular passages, and even the interior of the wood cells.

An interesting paper on the "Geographical distribution of Fungi" by Mr. E. P. Fries, has been republished lately in the "Annales des Sciences" a translation of which may be found in the "Annals of Natural History" for April, 1862. And there is a digest of a paper by Mr. E. Fries, on the "Seasons of Appearance of various Fungi" in the "Natural History Review" for July, 1861. Both are very valuable contributions to the subject, but I can only allude to them here. A curious fact remains to be noticed in regard to the plants under consideration, viz., that of luminosity.

Agaricus olearius, a South of Europe species, is one exhibiting this quality. Dr. Hooker alludes to luminous mycelia in the Himalayas, and Humboldt describes the light emitted by Rhizomorphæ

in mines, as most brilliant. Other persons have attributed this faculty to the mycelium of our common Truffle.

As many of the terms employed by writers on Mycology are peculiar, I will give at the end of the accompanying list an explanation of the more unusual of them.

The following is the systematic arrangement of Mr. Berkeley in the outlines of British Fungology.

Fungales.	Sporiferi (spores naked).	Hymenomycetes.	Spores naked. Hymenium free, mostly naked, or if inclosed at first, soon exposed.
		Gasteromycetes.	Spores naked. Hymenium inclosed in a peridium, seldom ruptured before maturity.
		Coniomycetes.	Spores naked, mostly terminal, seated on inconspicuous threads, free, or inclosed in a perithecium.
		Hyphomycetes.	Spores naked, variously seated on conspicuous threads, which are rarely compacted, mostly small in proportion to the threads.
	Sporidiferi (spores in sacs.)	Ascomycetes.	Asci formed from the fertile cells of an hymenium.
		Physomycetes.	Fertile cells seated on threads not compacted into an hymenium.

In these Families the name is derived from the predominance of the organ, which is the distinguishing feature in each.

Thus Hymenomycetes from *Humen*, Gr., a membrane, and *Mukés*, Gr., a mushroom. The fruit being formed on a membrane, which is either naked from the first, or soon becomes so if originally inclosed in a volva.

Gasteromycetes from *Gaster*, Gr., the belly, where the fruit is produced in a closed receptacle.

Coniomycetes from *Konis*, Gr., dust, the dust-like spores forming the chief character.

Hyphomycetes from *Huphé*, Gr., a woven mass of threads.

Physomycetes from *Phuské*, Gr., a vesicle, or bladder where the fruit arises from the tip of a thread, penetrating into the vesicle, which forms a covering for the fruit.

Ascomycetes from *Askos*, Gr., a sac, where the fruit is formed within asci.

Hymenomycetes. The plants of this family possess a floccose mycelium, either giving rise at once to a distinct hymenium, or producing a variously shaped, naked, or volvate receptacle, even, or bearing on its upper or under surface various folds, plates, or prickles, clothed with fertile hymenial cells.

Family I. Hymenomycetes.

Hymenium inferior, except in resupinate forms.

- Agaricini. — Hymenium spread over distinct plates or gills.
- Polyporei. — Hymenium lining the cavity of tubes or pores, which are sometimes broken up into teeth, or concentric plates.
- Hydnei. — Hymenium spread over spines, teeth, papillæ, &c., not lining impressed tubes, &c.
- Auricularini. — Hymenium confluent with the hymenophore, at first even, or rarely veined.

Hymenium superior, or circumambient.

- Clavariei. — Hymenium scarcely distinct from the hymenophore, vertical, amphigenous, reaching to the apex, even or at length wrinkled. Never incrusting or coriaceous.
- Tremellini. — Whole plant gelatinous, except occasionally a nucleus. Sporophores large, simple or divided, spicules elongated into threads.

ORDER I. AGARICINI.

Genus I., *Agaricus, L.* Gills membranacious, persistent (not melting); trama filamentous, continuous with the substance of the pileus, edge acute. Fleshy putrescent Fungi.

SERIES I., LEUCOSPORI, spores white.

Subgenus i., *Amanita.* Veil universal, distinct from the cuticle of the pileus. Hymenophore distinct from the stem.

Agaricus (Amanita) phalloides Fr., Bowood.
———————— muscarius Fr., Spye Park.
———————— mappa Fr., Bowood.
———————— vaginatus Fr., Bowood.
———————— rubescens P., Hartham Park, &c.

Subgenus ii., *Lepiota.* Veil universal, concrete with the cuticle of the pileus. Hymenophore distinct from the stem.

A. (lepiota) procerus Scop., Marlborough Forest.
———————— excoriatus Schæff., Warleigh Down.
———————— cristatus Bolt, Rudloe, &c.
———————— granulosus, Batsch, Lucknam Grove.

Subgenus iii., *Armillaria.* Veil partial, annular, Hymenophore confluent with the stem.

A. (armillaria) melleus, *Vahl* Rudloe, very common.
———————— mucidus Schrader, Spye Park, &c., on Beech trees.

Subgenus iv., *Tricholoma.* Stem fleshy, gills with a sinus behind. Veil obsolete, or if present floccose, and adhering to the margin of the pileus.

A. (tricholoma) imbricatus Fr., Lucknam Grove, fir wood.
———————— rutilans Schaff. Lucknam Grove on fir stumps.
———————— multiformis Fr., Lucknam Grove.
———————— sulfureus Bull, Bowood.
———————— inamœnus Fr., Bowood.
———————— gambosus Fr., open downs, &c., common.

A. (tricholoma) albus Fr., Bowood.
———————— personatus Fr., Rudloe, pastures common.
———————— nudus Bull, Lucknam, &c., common.

Subgenus v., *Clitocybe.* Stem elastic with a fibrous outer coat; gills decurrent or acutely adnate.

A. (clitocybe) nebularis Batsch., Bowood.
———————— fumosus P., Monkton Farley.

——————— odorus Bull., Bathford Down.
——————— gallinaceus Scop., Bathford Down, &c.
——————— geotrupus Bull., Bowood.
——————— flaccidus Sow., Cliff Pypard, fir plantation.
——————— cyathiformis Fr., Bathford Down, &c.
——————— fragrans Sow., ditto
——————— laccatus Scop., woods common.

Subgenus vi., *Collybia.* Stem cartilaginous externally. Margin of pileus at first involute. Gills not decurrent.

A. (collybia) radicatus Relih., common.
——————— longipes *Bull.*, near Box.
——————— platyphyllus Fr., Shockerwick.
——————— velutipes *Curt.*, very common on timber.
——————— caulicinalis *Bull.*, Hartham Park.
——————— confluens *P.*, Lucknam Grove, &c.
——————— tenacellus, *P.*, Rudlow, on fir cones.
——————— dryophyllus *Bull.*, Lucknam Grove.
——————— atratus Fr., Cliff Pypard.

Subgenus vii., *Mycena.* Stem externally cartilaginous. Margin of pileus (which is mostly campanulate) at first straight and pressed to the stem.

A. (mycena) rosellus Fr., Lucknam Grove, on fir cones.
——————— purus P., woods, common.
——————— lacteus P., Lucknam Grove.
——————— galericulatus Scop., common.
——————— polygrammus Bull., ditto.
——————— epipterygius Scop., Spye Park.
——————— vulgaris P., Lucknam Grove.
——————— corticola Schum., very common on trees.
——————— capillaris Schum., Hartham Park.
——————— vulgaris P., Lucknam Grove.

Subgenus viii., *Omphalia.* Stem cartilaginous. Gills truly decurrent.

A. (omphalia) muralis Sow., Corsham, &c., on walls.

Subgenus ix., *Pleurotus.* Stem excentric, lateral, or wanting.

A. (pleurotus) ulmarius Bull., Hartham Park, &c.

——————— salignus *P.*, Rudlow.
——————— applicatus Batsch., Bowood.
——————— subpalmatus Fr., Bushton.

Series II., Hyporhodii, spores salmon-coloured.

Subgenus x., *Volvaria.* Veil universal, forming a volva distinct from the cuticle. Hymenophore distinct from the stem.

A. (volvaria) pusillus Fr., Corsham.

Subgenus xi., *Pleuteus.* Hymenophore distinct from the stem. Veil none.

Subgenus xii., *Entoloma.* Hymenophore continuous with the fleshy or fibrous stem; gills sinuato-adnexed, or parting from the stem.

A. (entoloma) bloxami B. and B., Warleigh Down.
——————— sericellus Fr., Rudlow.
——————— costatus Fr., pastures, common.

Subgenus xiii., *Clitopilus.* Hymenophore confluent with the fleshy or fibrous stem, gills decurrent.

A. (clitopilus) prunulus Scop., Hartham Park, &c.

Subgenus xiv., *Leptonia.* Stem with a cartilaginous bark. Margin of pileus at first incurved; gills separating from the stem.

A. (leptonia) incanus Fr., pastures, common.
——————— chalybœus P., Warleigh, &c.

Subgenus xv., *Nolanea.* Stem cartilaginous. Margin of the pileus at first straight, pressed to the stem.

Series III., Dermini, spores ferruginous, sometimes tawny or brownish.

Subgenus xvi., *Pholiota.* Stem furnished with a ring.

A. (pholiota) radicosus Bull., Bowood.
——————— squarrosus Müll., Rudlow, &c., common.
——————— mutabilis Schœff., Corsham, &c.
——————— præcox P., Rudlow, &c.

Subgenus xvii., *Hebeloma.* Veil, if present, flocose, not interwoven; stem fleshy; gills sinuated.

A. (hebeloma) pyriodorus P., Castle Combe.
——————— obscurus Fr., Bowood.
——————— rimosus Bull., Rudlow, &c.
——————— geophyllus Sow., dttto.
——————— crustuliniformis Bull., ditto.

Subgenus xviii., *Flammula.* Stem fleshy; gills adnate or decurrent.

Subgenus xix., *Naucoria.* Stem cartilaginous externally. Margin more or less convex; pileus inflexed.

A. (naucoria) cucumis P., Rudlow.
——————— melinoides Fr., pastures, common.
——————— semiorbicularis Bull., ditto.
——————— furfuraceus P., Corsham.

Subgenus xx., *Galera.* Stem externally subcartilaginous; pileus more or less campanulate; margin straight.

A. (galera) tener Schœff., pastures, common.

Subgenus xxi., *Crepidotus.* Pileus eccentric; spores not white.

A. (crepidotus) mollis Schœff., common.
——————— variabilis P., ditto.
——————— byssisedus P., Bowood, on the ground.

Series IV., Pratellæ, spores brown or brownish-purple.

Subgenus xxii., *Psalliota.* Veil fixed to the stem, forming a ring.

A. (psalliota) campestris L., mushroom, common.
——————— arvensis Schœff., common.
——————— cretaceus Fr., Rudlow.
——————— œruginosus Curt., very common.
——————— squamosus P., Bowood, on beech mast.
——————— semiglobatus Batsch., common.

Subgenus xxiii., *Hypholoma.* Veil woven into a fugacious web, which adheres to the margin of the pileus.

A. (hypholoma) sublateritius Fr., Bowood, &c.
——————— fascicularis *Huds.*, common.
——————— lacrymabundus Bull., Bowood.

Subgenus xxiv., *Psilocybe.* Veil, if present, not forming a ring. Margin of pileus at first incurved.

A. (psilocybe) fœnesecii P., common.

Subgenus xxv., *Psathyra.* Veil none, or not forming a ring. Pileus conical or campanulate; margin at first straight.

Series V., Coprinarius, spores black; gills never becoming purple or brown.

Subgenus xxvi., *Panœolus.* Veil, when present, interwoven, pileus rather fleshy, without striæ, margin at first extending beyond the gills, which are clouded.

A. (panæolus) fimiputris Bull., common.

Subgenus xvii., *Psathyrella.* Veil not interwoven, pileus membranaceous; margin not reaching beyond the gills.

A. (psathyrella) disseminatus P., common.

Genus II., *Coprinus* Fr., gills membranaceous, deliquescent, spores black.

Coprinus comatus Fr., common.

—— atramentarius Fr., ditto.

—— micaceus Fr., ditto.

—— ephemerus Fr., ditto.

—— plicatilis Fr., ditto.

Genus III., *Bolbitius,* Fr., gills becoming moist; spores coloured.

Genus IV., *Cortinarius,* Fr., gills membranaceous persistent; trama floccose. Veil consisting of arachnoid threads. Spores rusty-ochre.

Subgenus i., *Phlegmacium.* Pellicle of pileus viscid when moist. Veil and stem dry.

Subgenus ii., *Myxacium.* Universal veil, and stem viscid, and polished when dry.

C. (myxacium) elatior Fr., Bowood.

Subgenus iii., *Inoloma.* Pileus fleshy, dry, at first silky with scales or innate fibres, not hygrophanous; stem bulbous.

C. (inoloma) violaceus Fr., Rudlow in woods.

Subgenus iv., *Dermocybe.* Pileus thin, silky with innate down, dry, not hygrophanous; stem equal or attenuated, not bulbous.

C. (dermocybe) anomalus Fr., Bathford Down.

Subgenus v., *Telamonia.* Pileus moist, hygrophanous, smooth,

or clothed with evanescent threads; stem peronate (sheathed with the interwoven veil).

C. (telamonia) periscelis Weinm., Bowood.

——————— ileopodius Fr., Bowood.

——————— gentilis, Fr., ditto.

Subgenus vi., *Hygrocybe.* Pileus hygrophanous; stem distinct from the fibrillose veil, hence neither annulate nor floccoso-squamose.

Genus V., *Paxillus*, Fr., gills persistent, distinct and easily separating from the hymenophore, which is confluent with the stem; trama obsolete.

Paxillus atro-tomentosus Fr., near Compton Basset, Miss Dalby.

——— involutus Fr., very common.

Genus VI., *Gomphidius*, Fr., topshaped. Hymenophore confluent with the stem, gills slightly branched, formed of a mucilaginous membrane, edge acute. Spores fusiform.

Gomphidius viscidus *Fr.*, Rudlow, Box, &c.

Genus VII., *Hygrophorus* Fr. Hymenophore continuous with the stem, and descending without change into the sharp edged gills; hymenium waxy.

Hygrophorus cossus Fr., Bowood.

——————— mesotephrus B. and B., ditto.

——————— pratensis Fr., common.

——————— virgineus Fr., ditto.

——————— ovinus Fr., Cliff Pypard.

——————— olivaceo-albus Fr., Warleigh Down.

——————— unguinosus Fr., ditto.

——————— ceraceus Fr., common.

——————— coccineus Fr., ditto.

——————— conicus Fr., ditto.

——————— psittacinus Fr., ditto.

Genus VIII., *Lactarius* Fr. Hymenophore confluent with the stem and vesiculose trama, gills milky, edge acute.

Lactarius blennius Fr., Bowood.

——— circellatus Fr., ditto.

——— pyrogalus Fr., Bathford.

——— pallidus Fr., Bowood.

——— insulsus Fr., Box.
——— quietus Fr., Box.

Genus IX., *Russula* Fr. Hymenophore continuous with the vesiculose trama. Gills rigid, not milky; edge acute, veil none.

Russula vesca Fr., Bowood.
——— rubra Fr., Box.
——— emetica Fr., Bowood.
——— ochroleuca Fr., ditto.
——— nitida Fr., ditto.

Genus X., *Cantharellus* Fr. Hymenophore inferior, confluent with the floccose trama. Gills thick, swollen, somewhat branched, edge obtuse.

Cantharellus cibarius Fr., Bowood.
——— tubœformis Fr., Longleat.
——— lobatus Fr., Castle Combe.

Genus XI., *Nyctalis* Fr. Hymenophore confluent with the stem and trama. Gills fleshy, juicy, or subgelatinous, obtuse, unequal. Often parasitic on other Fungi. Veil universal.

Genus XII., *Marasmius* Fr. Hymenophore confluent with the stem, though different in texture, descending into the floccose trama. Hymenium dry, covering the interstices as well as the gills. Gills, or folds thick, tough, and subcoriaceous, edge acute.

Marasmius peronatus Fr., Lucknam Grove.
——— oreades Fr., common.
——— ramealis Fr., ditto.
——— androsaceus Fr., Lucknam Grove.
——— rotula Fr., Rudlow.
——— Hudsoni Fr., on holly leaves, Bowood.
——— epiphyllus Fr., Bowood.

Genus XIII., *Lentinus.* Coriaceous, fleshy and tough, at length hard and dry. Gills tough, edge acute, toothed. Hymenophore homogeneous with the stem.

Lentinus cochleatus Fr., Rudlow.

Genus XIV., *Panus Fr.* Pileus fleshy but tough, at length drying up. Gills tough, edge acute entire. Hymenophore homogeneous with the stem.

Panus stypticus Fr., Rudlow.

Genus XV., *Xerotus* Fr. Hymenophore confluent with the stem. Gills tough, or coriaceous, dichotomous, edge obtuse entire.

Genus XVI., *Schizophyllum* Fr. Gills coriaceous, split longitudinally, with the two divisions revolute or spreading.

Genus XVII., *Lenzites* Fr. Corky or coriaceous. Gills firm, often anastomosing, and forming spurious pores. Edge entire.

Lenzites betulina Fr., common.

ORDER II. POLYPOREI.

Genus XVIII., *Boletus Fr.* Hymenophore quite distinct from the hymenium. Trama obsolete. Hymenium lining the cavity of tubes separable from one another and from the hymenophore.

Boletus laricinus *B.*, Box, quarries, &c.

—— granulatus L., Bathford.

—— subtomentosus, Bowood.

Genus XIX., *Strobilomyces B.* Hymenophore quite distinct from the hymenium. Pileus fleshy, at length tough. Spores globose or broadly elliptic, minutely rough.

Genus XX., *Fr. Polyporus.* Hymenophore descending into the trama of the pores, which are not easily separable, and changed with them into a distinct substance.

Polyporus nummularius Fr., Bowood.

——— squamosus Fr., on ash trees common.

——— varius Fr., Bowood.

——— chioneus Fr., Bathford, on fir stumps.

——— cœsius Fr., ditto.

——— fumosus Fr., ditto.

——— adustus *Willd.*, common.

——— hispidus Fr., Box, on ash trees.

——— spumeus Fr., Bathford, on apple trees.

——— dryadeus Fr., Draycot, on oak trees.

——— igniarius Fr., common on trees.

——— ulmarius Fr., ditto on elms.

——— radiatus Fr., Spye Park, on alders.

——— versicolor Fr., very common on sticks.

——— abietinus Fr., Bathford.
——— medulla-panis *Jacq.*, Lucknam, on old gates.
——— vulgaris Fr., Corsham, &c., common.
——— vaporarius Fr., Spye Park, &c., ditto.

Genus XXI., *Trametes* Fr. Hymenophore descending into the trama of the pores unchanged, which are permanently concrete with the pileus. Pores entire.

Trametes suaveolens *Fr.*, on willows, common.
——— gibbosa, thin variety, Warleigh.

Genus XXII., *Dædalea P.* Hymenophore descending into the trama without any change. Pores when fully formed, torn, toothed, or labyrinthiform.

Dædalea quercina P., common on oaks.
——— confragosa P., Spye Park, on willow.
——— unicolor Fr., common.

Genus XXIII., *Merulius Fr.* Hymenium soft, waxy, forming porous, reticulate, or sinuous toothed folds.

Merulius corium Fr., common on sticks.
——— lacrymans Fr., ditto on cut timber.

Genus XXIV., *Porothelium* Fr. Hymenophore mycelioid, covered with distinct papillæ, at first closed, then open, like pores.

Genus XXV., *Fistulina Bull.* Hymenophore fleshy, hymenium inferior, at first papillose; the papillæ at length elongated, and forming distinct tubes.

Fistulina hepatica Fr., Rudlow, common on oaks.

ORDER III. HYDNEI.

Genus XXVI., *Hydnum L.* Spines awl-shaped, or compressed, distinct at the base.

Hydnum repandum L., Bowood.
——— auriscalpium L., Lucknam Grove on fir cones.
——— ochraceum P., ditto on fir stumps.
——— farinaceum P., Rudlow, on sticks.

Genus XXVII., *Sistotrema* P. Hymenium spread over gill like teeth, irregularly distributed, distinct from the pileus and easily separable.

Genus XXVIII., *Irpex Fr.* Teeth found at an early stage of the growth of the subiculum, concrete with it, and disposed in rows, or like net-work, and connected together.

Genus XXIX., *Radulum Fr.* Tubercles rude, irregular, commonly elongated and cylindrical, obtuse, waxy.

Rudulum quercinum Fr., Spye Park, on oak.

Genus XXX., *Phlebia* Fr. Hymenium soft and waxy, spread over persistent, crest like wrinkles or veins, whose edge is entire.

Genus XXXI., *Grandinia Fr.* Hymenium waxy, granulated, granules obtuse, entire, equal, crowded, smooth, persistent.

Grandinia granulosa Fr., Rudlow, on branches.

Genus XXXII., *Odontia Fr.* Subiculum formed of interwoven fibres, clothed with papillose, or spine shaped warts, which are crested at the apex.

Genus XXXIII., *Kneiffia* Fr. Soft, loosely fleshy, flocculose and collapsing when dry, hymenium rough with rigid, scattered, and fasiculate bristles.

ORDER IV. AURICULARINI.

Genus XXXIV., *Craterellus Fr.* Fleshy, hymenium unchangeable, carnoso-membranaceous, distinct, smooth, even, or at length rugose. Putrescent when old.

Genus XXXV., *Thelephora Fr.* Pileus destitute of cuticle, consisting of interwoven fibres. Hymenium costato-striate, or papillose, of a tough, fleshy consistence, at length rigid, and finally collapsing and flocculent.

Thelephora anthocephala *Fr.*, Rudlow, on the ground.

——— cristata Fr., Rudlow, on moss, &c.

——— fastidiosa Fr., Corsham, on the ground.

——— mollissima P., Castle Combe incrusting the base of grasses, &c.

——— biennis Fr., Bowood, on the ground, &c.

——— sebacea Fr., Lucknam Grove.

——— arida Fr., Rudlow, on timber.

Genus XXXVI., *Stereum Fr.* Hymenium coriaceous, rather thick, concrete with the intermediate stratum of the pileus, which

has a cuticle, always even and veinless, unchangeable, not beset with bristles.

Stereum purpureum Fr., Biddesdon, &c., common.
——— hirsutum Fr., very common on timber, &c.
——— sanguinolentum Fr., Rudlow, &c.
——— rugosum Fr., common.
——— spadiceum Fr., Rudlow.

Genus XXXVII., *Hymenochæte.* Coriaceous, dry. Hymenium even, beset with short, stiff, coloured bristles.

Genus XXXVIII., *Auricularia.* Hymenium irregularly, and distinctly folded, gelatinous when wet, different in substance from the pileus.

Auricularia mesenterica, Bull., Rudlow, on stems of trees.

Genus XXXIX., Corticium. Hymenium soft and fleshy, swollen when moist, collapsing and becoming even when dry, often rimose.

Corticium giganteum Fr., Lucknam Grove, on fir stumps.
——— læve Fr., common on sticks.
——— arachnoideum B., Spye Park, running over moss, &c.
——— sulfureum Fr., Rudlow, on sticks.
——— cœruleum Fr., Rudlow, ditto.
——— quercinum P., common on oak sticks.
——— cinereum Fr., ditto on sticks.
——— incarnatum Fr., Rudlow.
——— confluens Fr., Spye Park.
——— comedens Fr., ditto
——— sambuci P., on Elder common.
——— aurora B. and B., Spye Park, on leaves of carices,

Genus XL., Cyphella *Fr.* Submembranaceous, cup-shaped, elongated behind and frequently pendulous. Hymenium distinctly inferior, completely confluent with the pileus.

Cyphella goldbachii Fr., Spye Park, on Aira cæspitosa.
——— cuticulosa Fr., Spye Park.
——— Curreyi B. and B., common on sticks, &c.

ORDER V. CLAVARIEI.

Genus XLI., *Clavaria* L. Fleshy, branched or simple, without any stem of a distinct substance; hymenium dry.

Clavaria botrytis P., Bowood, on the ground.

——— coralloides L., Stourhead, ditto.

——— cristata, *Holmskiold*, Bowood.

——— inæqualis, Müll., Rudlow.

——— contorta Fr., Spye Park, on alder sticks.

——— abietina Schum., Corsham, &c.

Genus XLII., *Calocera Fr.*, Gelatinous, subcartilaginous when moist, horny when dry, hymenium viscid.

Calocera viscosa Fr., common on fir stumps, &c.

Genus XLIII., *Typhula.* Stem filiform, flaccid. Receptacle cylindrical, distinct. Hymenium thin, waxy.

Typhula erythropus Fr., Rudlow, on herbaceous stems.

Genus XLIV., *Pistillaria Fr.* Club-shaped, waxy, then horny. Structure cellular.

Pistillaria quisquilliaris Fr., Hartham Park.

ORDER VI. TREMELLINI.

Genus XLV., *Tremella* Fr. Gelatinous, tremulous, immarginate. Hymenium not papillate, surrounding the whole of the Fungus.

Tremella mesenterica *Retz.*, very common on sticks.

——— albida, *Huds.* ditto

Genus XLVI., *Exidia Fr.* Tremulous, margined, fertile above and glandular, barren below.

Exidia recisa Fr., Rudlow, on sticks.

Genus XLVII., *Hirneola Fr.* Gelatinous, cup-shaped, horny when dry. Hymenium often more or less wrinkled; interstices even, without papillæ; outer surface velvety.

Hirneola auricula-judœ *B.*, Rudlow, &c., on elder.

Genus XLVIII., *Nœmatelia Fr.* Nucleus solid, heterogeneous, covered with a gelatinous stratum, which is everywhere clothed with the hymenium.

Genus XLIX., *Dacrymyces Nees.* Homogeneous, gelatinous. Conidia disposed in moniliform rows. Sporophores clavate, at length bifurcate.

Dacrymyces stillatus Nees., Rudlow, on fir common.

Genus L., *Apyrenium Fr.* Stroma gelatinoso-carnose fibroso-

floccose, hollow, inflated. Hymenium smooth, when dry collapso-pubescent.

Genus LI., *Hymenula Fr.* Effused, very thin, maculæform, agglutinate, between waxy and gelatinous.

Genus LII., *Ditiola Fr.* Orbicular, margined, patellæform. Hymenium discoid, gelatinous, at first veiled.

Family II. Gasteromycetes.

The Gasteromycetes have a distinct, often stipitate peridium inclosing free, or compacted threads, or laminæ, from which the spores spring, and in the most highly organized genera a distinct though convolute hymenium. Spores naked, or rarely surrounded by a cyst, but in that case springing from the tip of a fertile thread.

The following is Mr. Berkeley's arrangement of the orders.

Family II. Gasteromycetes.

Hymenomycetous.

Podaxinei. Stipitate, subclavæform; hymenium convolute, inclosed in a volva-like peridium, withering, or entirely drying up so as to form a dusty mass.

Hypogei. Subterraneous; naked, or invested with a confluent, or very rarely a distinct peridium.

Phalloidei. Hymenium passing into a diffluent mass.

Nidulariacei. Peridium inclosing one or more distinct, free or stipitate sporangia, which contain a mass of cells, of which the central ones produce spores, or sporophores.

Coniospermous.

Trichogastres. Plant at first cellular. Hymenium drying up, and leaving a dusty mass of threads and spores.

Myxogastres. Whole plant at first gelatinous. Peridium containing at length a dusty mass of threads and spores.

In the Gasteromycetes the hymenium is more or less permanently

concealed, consisting mostly of cells, of which the fertile ones bear naked spores on distinct spicules, exposed only by the rupture or decay of the peridium.

ORDER VII. HYPOGŒI.

Hymenium permanent, not becoming dusty, or deliquescent, except when decayed. Subterranean.

Genus LIII., *Octaviania Vitt.* Peridium continuous or cracked, cottony, running down into the sterile base. Trama byssoid, easily divisible. Fruit bearing cells at first empty.

O. asterosperma *Vitt.*, has been found in Leigh Woods, Bristol, and in Cornwall.

Genus LIV., *Melanogaster Corda.* Peridium adhering to creeping branched fibres, which traverse its surface, without any proper or distinct base. Cells at first filled with pulp. Spores smooth, mostly dark. These plants occur from one to three inches under the surface of the ground.

Melanogaster variegatus Tul., Hartham Park, Warleigh, under beech trees. This species has been sold in the shops in Bath as an article of food.

———— ambiguus *Tul.*, Spye Park, under beech.

———— tuberiformis *Corda*, ditto ditto

Genus LV., *Hydnangium Wallr.* Peridium fleshy or membranaceous. Sterile base none. Trama vesicular. Cells at first empty, then filled with spores. Spores echinate.

H. Stephensii *B. and B.* has hitherto occurred only in woods where lime trees abound near Bristol.

H. carotœcolor *B. and B.* has been met with in woods near Bristol, and on open chalk downs in Dorsetshire.

Genus LVI., *Hysterangium Tul.* Peridium indehiscent, distinct, separable. Cavities at first empty. Substance cartilagineo-glutinous. Spores minute. Hysterangium has been met with in various localities in Britain buried eight or nine inches in stiff clayey soil in woods, and surrounded by a copious mycelium.

Genus LVII., *Rhizopogon Tul.* Peridium continuous, or cracked, adhering to creeping branched fibres, which traverse its surface.

Cavities distinct, at first empty. Spores smooth, oblong elliptic. The species grow mostly in sandy fir woods in loose spongy soil.

Genus LVIII., *Hymenogaster Tul.* Peridium fleshy, or thin running down into an absorbing base. Cavities at first empty, radiating, or irregular. Trama composed of elongated cells, but not of byssoid flocci, therefore not easily separable, Spores various. The species of this genus are met with just under the surface of the soil, under dead leaves, &c.

Hymenogaster luteus Vitt., Corsham Park, fir plantations.
———— citrinus Vitt., Rudlow, ditto.
———— olivaceus *Vitt.*, ditto ditto.
———— tener *B.*, ditto ditto.

ORDER VIII. PHALLOIDEI.

Volva universal, the intermediate stratum gelatinous. Hymenium deliquescent.

Genus LIX., *Phallus* L. Pileus perforated at the apex, free all round, reticulate. Veil none.

Phallus impudicus L., Bowood.

Genus LX., *Cynophallus Fr.* Pileus adnate, imperforate, uneven. Veil none.

Genus LXI., *Clathrus Mich.* Stem none. Receptacle forming an ovate, or globose net-work; branches of the net-work cellular within.

The Phalloidei contain some singular productions. Phallus impudicus L. is common in sandy woods, it resembles carrion in its odour, by which it may be traced to its lair from a considerable distance. Clathrus cancellatus L. still more fœtid, is a beautiful species, its bright red, netted receptacle is a remarkable object, it has occurred at Torquay and in the Isle of Wight. The strong odour of these plants attracts numerous insects, which prey upon them and thus become the means of dispersing their seed.

ORDER IX. TRICHOGASTRES.

Genus LXII., *Batarrea P.* Volva universal, central stratum gelatinous. Receptacle pileiform, bursting through the volva, seated at the top of a tall stem.

Genus LXIII., *Tulostoma P.* Peridium thin, papyraceous, the outer coat separating, distinct from the elongated stem.

Genus LXIV., *Geaster Mich.* Peridium double, outer distinct, persistent, bursting, and divided into several stellate lobes.

Geaster fimbriatus *Fr.*, Everley plantations.

Genus LXV., *Bovista Dill.* Peridium like paper, persistent. Bark distinct, at length shelling off. Capillitium equal, attached on all sides to the peridium. Spores pedicellate.

Bovista nigrescens P., Bowood.

——— plumbea P., Bowood and Spye Park.

Genus LXVI., *Lycoperdon Tourn.* Peridium membranaceous, vanishing above, or becoming flaccid. Bark adnate, subpersistent, breaking up into scales or warts. Capillitium adnate to the peridium, and to the sterile base.

Lycoperdon giganteum *Batsch.*, Downs near Pewsey.

——————— hiemale *Vitt.*, Spye Park.

——————— gemmatum *Batsch.*, Rudlow.

——————— pyriforme *Schœff.*, Rudlow.

——————— cœlatum *Bull.*, Bathford Down.

——————— perlatum *Vitt.*, ditto

Genus LXVII., *Scleroderma P.* Peridium firm, with an innate bark, bursting irregularly. Flocci adhering on all sides to the peridium, and forming distinct veins in the central mass. Spores large granulated.

Seleroderma verrucosum P., Chippenham.

——————— vulgare Fr., Bowood.

Genus LXVIII., *Polysaccum D. C.* Common peridium simple, rigid, bursting irregularly; internal mass divided into distinct cells, filled with peridiola. Spores mixed with threads.

Genus LXIX., *Cenococcum Fr.* Peridium naked, thick carbonaceous, indehiscent, at length hollow, with the walls dotted with dust-like spores.

ORDER X. MYXOGASTRES.

At first pulpy, at length filled with flocci and dust-like spores.

The Myxogastres have been lately claimed by De Bary for the animal kingdom. His chief ground for this opinion was the

discovery of their mode of growth, viz., from Zoospores. At the time his first observations were made, these bodies were not known to exist in Fungi; they have however been discovered since in other orders of those plants as well as in the Myxogastres, as in Cystopus candidus, and Peronospora. De Bary names the Myxogastres anew, and calls them Mycetozoa, from their resemblance to individuals of both the animal and vegetable kingdoms. The substance of his observations is, that the spores when moistened burst, and their contents escape in the form of colourless vesicles, which gradually change their shape, precisely like Amœbæ (a genus of Infusoria), and assumes various forms, which are provided with motile cilia, afterwards hollow spaces appear in the substance of these bodies, which are constantly spreading out and branching, these hollow spaces dilate and contract. The cilia at length disappear, and the amæba-like bodies extend themselves over the substance they grow on, by a creeping motion. De Bary calls their branches "sarcode strings," and he asserts that the peridia are developed direct from these strings. This mode of growth has been seen by other persons, and though extremely singular, is not considered at all decisive of the animal nature of these bodies. The fact of other Fungi having been found to produce Zoospores, and the analogy of the perfect state of the Myxogastres to some undoubted Fungi induces most botanists to retain them where they were. They deserve however a careful study, as well on account of their curious history, as for the great elegance of their forms and structure.

Genus LXX., *Lycogala Mich.* Peridium composed of a double membrane, papyraccous, persistent, bursting irregularly at the apex, externally warty, or furfuraceous. Flocci delicate, adnate to the peridium.

Lycogala epidendrum *Fr.*, common on dead stumps, &c.

Genus LXXI., *Reticularia Bull.* Peridium indeterminate simple, thin, naked, bursting irregularly, fugitive. Flocci attached to the peridium, flat, branched, subreticulate.

(To be continued.)

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THE
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"MULTORUM MANIBUS GRANDE LEVATUR ONUS."—*Ovid.*

The Fungi of Wiltshire.

By C. E. BROOME, ESQ.

(Continued.)

Genus LXXII., *Œthalium Lk.* Peridium indeterminate, externally covered by a floccose evanescent bark, cellular within from the confluent interwoven flocci.

Genus LXXIII., *Spumaria P.* Peridium indeterminate, simple, crustaceous; floccoso cellular. Spores surrounded by membranaceous, ascending, often sinuous folds.

Spumaria alba *D. C.*, Rudlow, &c., common on grass, &c.

Genus LXXIV., *Diderma P.* Peridium double, external distinct, crustaceous, smooth; internal delicate, evanescent, attached to the straggling flocci, with or without a columella.

Diderma vernicosum P., common on twigs, &c.,

Genus LXXV., *Didymium Schrad.* Peridium scaly or floccose bursting irregularly.

Didymium squamulosum A. and S., Rudlow, on dead leaves.

Genus LXXVI., *Physarum P.* Peridium simple, membranaceous, very delicate, naked, quite smooth, bursting irregularly. Columella none.

Physarum album *Fr.*, Rudlow, on dead leaves.

Genus LXXVII., *Angioridium Grev.* Peridium membranaceous, opening by a longitudinal fissure. Flocci adhering to the peridium on all sides, reticulate, flat, ending above in the inner peridium.

Genus LXXVIII., *Badhamia B.* Peridium naked, or furfuraceous, spores in groups, enclosed at first in a hyaline sac.

Genus LXXIX., *Craterium Mont.* Peridium simple, papyraceous rigid, persistent, closed at first with a deciduous operculum. Flocci congested, erect.

Craterium leucocephalum Ditm., common on dead leaves, &c.

Genus LXXX., *Diachæa Fr.* Peridium very delicate, simple, falling off in fragments. Capillitium subreticulate, springing from a grumous, pallid columella.

Genus LXXXI., *Stemonitis Grev.* Peridium very delicate, simple, evanescent. Capillitium reticulate, springing from the dark, penetrating stem.

Stemonitis fusca Roth., Rudlow, on stumps.

——— ovata P., Bowood, on rails.

——— violacea *Fr.*, Rudlow, on moss.

Genus LXXXII., *Enerthenema Bowm.* Peridium very delicate, simple, evanescent, except at the apex, where it is adnate with the dilated top of the penetrating dark stem. Capillitium dependent, attached to the dilated disc. Spores surrounded by a cyst.

Genus LXXXIII., *Dictydium Schrad.* Peridium simple, very delicate, reticulated, or veined from the innate capillitium.

Dictydium umbilicatum Schrad., Rudlow, on stumps.

Genus LXXXIV., *Cribraria Schrad.* Peridium simple, persistent below, vanishing above. Flocci innate, forming a free network in the upper half of the peridium.

Genus LXXXV., *Arcyria Hill.* Peridium simple, upper portion very fugacious. Capillitium elastic. Flocci not spiral.

Arcyria incarnata P., Bowood, common on stumps, &c.

Genus LXXXVI., *Ophiotheca Currey.* Peridium simple, bursting longitudinally. Capillitium twofold, one consisting of delicate hyaline threads, to which the spores are attached; the other of echinulate, thicker, branched filaments.

Genus LXXXVII., *Trichia Hall.* Peridium simple, persistent, membranaceous, bursting irregularly above. Threads spiral.

Trichia rubiformis P., Rudlow, on dead wood.

——— fallax P., Draycot ditto

——— turbinata With., Rudlow, ditto

——— serpula P., Spye Park, on leaves.

Genus LXXXVIII., *Perichœna Fr.* Peridium simple, submembranaceous, persistent, naked, often splitting horizontally in the middle. Flocci few, not spiral.

Perichœna populina Fr., Draycot, on poplar wood.

Genus LXXXIX., *Licea Schrad.* Peridium thin, membranaceous,

even, bursting irregularly. Spores not mixed with flocci.

Licea fragiformis Bull., Bowood, on rotten wood.

Genus XC., *Phelonitis Chev.* Peridium papyraceous, persistent, commonly splitting horizontally in the centre. Spores large, rough.

ORDER XI. NIDULARIACEI.

Genus XCI., *Cyathus P.* Peridium composed of three, closely connected membranes, at length bursting at the apex, and closed by a white membrane. Sporangia plane, umbilicate, attached to the walls by an elastic cord.

Cyathus striatus Hoffm., Rudlow, on the ground.

Genus XCII., *Crucibulum Tul.* Peridium consisting of a uniform, spongy, fibrous felt, closed by a flat furfuraceous cover of the same color. Sporangia plane, attached by a long cord, springing from a little nipple-like tubercle.

Crucibulum vulgare Tul. Bowood, on sticks, &c.

Genus XCIII., *Sphærobolus Tode.* Peridium double; the inner at length inverted elastically, and ejecting a solitary sub-globose sporangium.

Sphærobolus stellatus *Tode*, Castle Combe, &c., on sticks.

Genus XCIV., *Polyangium Lk.* Peridium subhemispherical, hyaline. Sporangia large in proportion, grumous within.

Family III. Coniomycetes.

Family III. Coniomycetes.

- Growing on dead or dying plants.
  - Subcutaneous.
    - *Sphæronemei.* — Perithecium present, or rudimentary.
    - *Melanconiei.* — Perithecium manifestly none.
    - *Phragmotrichacei.* — Spores arranged in threads.
  - Superficial.
    - *Torulacei.* — Perithecium absent, spores more or less moniliform, formed by the rupture of the fertile threads.
- Parasitic on living plants.
  - *Pucciniei.* — Peridium none, spores mostly oblong, septate.
  - *Cœomacei.* — Spores subglobose rarely vesicular; simple, or if formed from the articulations of the fertile threads deciduous.

The greater number of the species contained in the division Sphœronemei are now considered to be merely second forms of fruit of other Fungi, and an interesting question arises, viz., to what species each pertains; they are for the most part connected with species of the genus Sphœria, but further observation is wanted to determine the relations of each individual.

Pucciniei and Cœomacei include a multitude of plants of the greatest importance to agriculture. Rust and Mildew are parasitic on living plants. Unger considered them as merely diseased states of the cellular tissue, a notion however, which is long since abandoned. Wheat, and other cereals, are always more or less affected by these pests, and before the practice of steeping seed-corn in solutions of sulphuric acid, &c., became general, whole crops were rendered uneatable by the presence of Bunt, Tilletia caries. M. Tulasne has published a very interesting account of these Fungi in the Annales des Sciences. The genera are numerous, and afford beautiful objects for the microscope. Puccinia graminis is the Mildew of Wheat. But more intractable than the Bunt, this species has not yet yielded to any remedies.

ORDER XII. SPHŒRONEMEI.

Perithecium more or less distinct.

Genus XCV., *Coniothyrium Cd.* Perithecium membranaceous, bursting irregularly, transversely.

Genus XCVI., *Leptostroma Fr.* Perithecium membranaceous, flat, breaking of at the base. Spores simple, minute.

Leptostroma caricinum Fr., Spye Park, on sedges.

Genus XCVII., *Phoma Fr.* Perithecium punctiform or subglobose, often spurious, or incorporated with the matrix, discharging the minute simple spores by a small orifice at the apex. Spores mostly hyaline.

Phoma Sambuci *Desm.*, Spye Park, on elder.

——— sticticum *Desm.*, ditto on box.

Genus XCVIII., *Leptothyrium Kze.* Perithecium flat, at length breaking off at the base. Spores cylindrical oblong, or irregular.

Genus XCIX., *Actinothyrium Kze.* Perithecia orbicular, radiato-fibrous. Spores fusiform, slender, simple.

Actinothyrium graminis *Kze.*, Draycot Park, on grass.

Genus C., *Cryptosporium Kze.* Perithecium always covered by the cuticle, carnoso-membranaceous, at length pierced. Spores fusiform simple.

Cryptosporium vulgare *Fr.*, Spye Park, on birch sticks.

———— caricis *Cd.*, ditto on leaves of sedges.

Genus CI., *Sphæronema Tode.* Perithecia free, opaque or hyaline. Spores minute at length oozing out by the ostiolum, and forming a globule.

Genus CII., *Aposphæria B.* Perithecia at length free, distinct from the matrix, furnished with a papillœform ostiolum. Spores minute.

Genus CIII., *Sphæropsis Lév.* Perithecia distinct, carbonaceous. Spores various, simple, escaping by a perforation at the apex.

Sphœropsis epitricha B. and B., Spye Park on stems of equisetum palustre.

———— geniculata B. and B., ditto on leaves of pinus strobus.

———— mutica B. and B., ditto on elder.

———— menispora B. and B., ditto on typha.

———— strobi B. and B., ditto on leaves of pinus strobus.

———— parca B. and B., ditto on leaves of abies excelsa.

Genus CIV., *Dothiora Fr.* Nucleus slowly developed, gelatinoso-grumous, black, immersed in an erumpent stroma, subcarbonaceous externally, fleshy within, always astomous. Spores pedicellate, obovate, simple.

Genus CV., *Clinterium Fr.* Perithecia erumpent, free, carbonaceous bursting by fissures at the apex. Nucleus gelatinoso-floccose. Spores simple.

Genus CVI., *Acrospernum Tode.* Perithecia cylindrical, free. Spores long, asciform, flexuous, erect.

Acrospermum compressum Tode, Rudlow, on nettle stems.

Acrospermum graminum *Lév.*, Rudlow, on dead grass.

Genus CVII., *Diplodia Fr.* Perithecia distinct, carbonaceous. Spores uniseptate, escaping by a perforation at the apex.

Diplodia vulgaris Lév., Rudlow.

——— tecta B. and B., on leaves of prunus lauro-cerasus.

——— consors B. and B., with the last.

Genus CVIII., *Hendersonia B.* Perithecia distinct. Spores two-multiseptate, escaping by a terminal pore.

Hendersonia arcus B. and B., Spye Park, on leaves of box.

——————— polycystis B. and B., ditto on birch twigs.

——————— subseriata *Desm.*, Draycot, on grasses.

Genus CIX., *Darluca Curt.* Perithecia delicate. Spores containing a row of sporidiola, oozing out and forming a tendril.

Darluca typhoidearum B. and B., Spye Park, on leaves of typha.

——— macropus B. and B., ditto on sedges.

Genus CX., *Vermicularia Tode.* Perithecium thin, mouthless, generally bristly. Spores vermiculate.

Vermicularia atramentaria B. and B., on dead potato stems, common.

Genus CXI., *Discosia Lib.* Perithecium flat, opening at the base. Spores septate, obliquely aristate at either end.

Genus CXII., *Pilidium Kze.* Perithecium scutellæform, smooth, shining, opening irregularly. Spores curved, without any appendage.

Genus CXIII., *Melasmia Lév.* Perithecium membranaceous, dehiscent above, rather swollen, at length depressed and rugose, growing in a thin, spotlike, effused receptacle. Spores minute.

Melasmia acerina Lév., Spye Park, &c., on leaves of sycamore.

Genus CXIV., *Piggottia B. and B.* Perithecia irregular, very thin, obsolete below, forming by confluence a wrinkled mass, bursting by a lacerated fissure. Spores rather large, obovate, at length tomiparous.

Genus CXV., *Septoria Fr.* Perithecia minute, more or less incorporated with the matrix. Spores oblong and septate, or thread-shaped and continuous, discharged in little tendrils.

Genus CXVI., *Ascochyta Lib.* Perithecia distinct, delicate. Spores oozing out, septate or simple.

Genus CXVII., *Cystotricha B. and B.* Perithecia bursting longitudinally. Sporophores branched, articulated, beset here and there with oblong, one septate spores.

Cystotricha striola B. and B., Spye Park, on rails.

Genus CXVIII., *Neottisporia Desm.* Perithecia concealed, with a central perforation. Spores hyaline, furnished with a basal appendage.

Neottiosporia caricum *Desm.*, Spye Park, on sedges. The spores when seen in mass are bright red, but a variety occurs in Spye Park with brown spores, not varying in other respects and therefore not safely to be considered distinct.

Genus CXIX., *Excipula Fr.* Perithecia delicate, hispid, open above excipuliform. Spores hyaline, attenuated, but not appendiculate.

Genus CXX. *Dinemasporium Lév.* Perithecia open above (excipuliform), delicate, hispid. Spores hyaline, aristate at either extremity.

Dinemasporium graminum *Lév.*, Rudlow, on dead grass.

Genus CXXI., *Myxormia B. and B.* Perithecia composed of flocci with free apices, open above. Spores concatenate, involved in gelatine.

Genus CXXII., *Prosthemium Kze.* Perithecia carbonaceous. Spores fasciculate, fusiform, septate, attached to articulated threads.

Prosthemium betulinum *Kze.*, Spye Park, on birch twigs.

———— stellare *Riess.*, ditto on alder sticks.

Genus CXXIII., *Asteroma D.C.* Perithecia flat, with no orifice, determinate, attached to creeping threads. Spores simple or one septate.

Asteroma Rosæ *D. C.*, common on wild rose stems.

Genus CXXIV., *Rabenhorstia Fr.* Conceptacle thin, subcarbonaceous, cup-shaped, dimidiate, above covered with the adnate cuticle, celluloso-loculose within, ostiolum simple. Nucleus gelatinous.

Genus CXXV., *Cytispora Fr.* Perithecia irregular, or compound and radiating. Spores minute, mostly curved, oozing out from a common apex in the form of globules or tendrils.

Cytispora leucosperma P., common on sticks.

Genus CXXVI., *Micropera Lév.* Perithecia innate, membranaceous, gaping above, without any common ostiolum. Spores simple, linear.

Genus CXXVII., *Discella B. and B.* Perithecia spurious, nearly simple, sometimes obsolete above, or entirely wanting, and hence excipuliform. Spores elongated, simple or one septate.

Discella Desmazierii B. and B., Langley, Chippenham, on lime twigs.

——— microsperma B. and B., Derry Hill, on willow.

Genus CXXVIII., *Phlyctœna Desm.* Perithecia spurious, simple, never deficient above. Spores elongated.

Genus CXXIX., *Ceuthospora Fr.* Perithecia spurious, innate, stromatiform, multicellular. Spores ejected from one or more orifices.

Ceuthospora Lauri *Grév.*, Rudlow on common laurel.

Genus CXXX., *Eriospora B. and B.* Stroma multicellular. Spores ejected by a common orifice, quarternate, filiform, seated on short sporophores.

Eriospora leucostoma B. and B. Spye Park, on junci.

ORDER XIII. MELANCONIEI.

Genus CXXXI., *Melanconium Lk.* Spores simple, oozing out in a dark mass.

Melanconium bicolor *Nees.* Spye Park on Birch sticks.

Genus CXXXII., *Stegonosporium Cd.* Spores unilocular, the endochrome transversely septate, or cellulose, oozing out in a black mass.

Genus CXXXIII., *Stilbospora P.* Spores septate, oozing out in a black mass.

Genus CXXXIV., *Asterosporium Kze.* Spores stellate, septate, oozing out in a black mass.

Genus CXXXV., *Coryneum Kze.* Spores septate, seated on a cushion-like stroma.

Coryneum disciforme *Kze.*, Spye Park, on birch sticks.

———— macrosporium *B.*, Rudlow, on beech sticks.

———— Kunzei *Cd.*, ditto on oak.

———— microstictum B. and B., Spye Park, on twigs of roses.

Genus CXXXVI., *Pestalozzia De Not.* Spores septate, seated on a long peduncle, crested above.

Genus CXXXVII., *Cheirospora Fr.* Spores collected in bundles, at the tip of hyaline, filiform sporophores, forming moniliform threads.

Cheirospora botryospora *Fr.*, Bowood, &c., on beech sticks.

Genus CXXXVIII., *Nemaspora P.* Spores coloured, oozing out in large tendrils. Spores of two kinds, some minute, others filiform, with a strong curvature.

Genus CXXXIX., *Myxosporium De Not.* Spores coloured, minute, of one kind, forming tendrils.

Genus CXL., *Glœosporium Mont.* Spores hyaline, simple, of one kind, oozing out in the form of tendrils.

ORDER XIV. TORULACEI.

Genus CXLI., *Torula P.*

Torula hysterioides *Cd.*, Spye Park, on alder poles.

——— herbarum *Lk.*, Rudlow, &c., common.

——— graminis Lib., Spye Park, on aira cæspitosa.

——— ovalispora *B.*, Rudlow, &c., on stumps.

Genus CXLII., *Bactridium Kze.* Spores radiating, coloured or hyaline, oblong, multiseptate.

Bactridium flavum *Kze.*, Rudlow, on elm timber.

Genus CXLIII., *Helicosporium Nees.* Parasitical. Spores filiform, articulated, spirally involute.

Genus CXLIV., *Bispora Cd.* Flocci tomiparous, moniliform, composed of didymous spores.

Bispora monilioides *Cd.*, common on stumps.

Genus CXLV., *Septonema Cd.* Flocci tomiparous, moniliform composed of multiseptate spores.

Genus CXLVI., *Sporoschisma B. and B.* Flocci erect, simple. Outer membrane tough, inarticulate. Endochrome at length emergent, breaking up into four-septate spores.

Sporoschisma mirabile *B. and B.*, Spye Park, on beech sticks.

Genus CXLVII., *Sporidesmium Lk.* Spores mostly irregular, pluricellular, springing immediately from the obscure mycelium,

rarely borne upon a distinct peduncle, more rarely one-septate.

Sporidesmium fungorum B. (Epochinum fungorum Fr.), common on corticia, &c.

Genus CXLVIII., *Coniothecium Cd.* At length naked. Spores multicellular, irregular, conglutinate.

Coniothecium betulinum *Cd.*, Spye Park, on birch twigs.

Genus CXLIX., *Dictyosporium Cd.* Spores linguaform, erect, plane, cellular. Cells subconcentric.

Genus CL., *Tetraploa B. and B.* Spores mostly quadriarticulate, growing together in fours, and each crowned with a jointed bristle.

Tetraploa aristata *B. and B.*, Canal side near Chippenham, on aira cœspitosa.

Genus CLI., *Echinobotryum Cd.* Parasitical. Spores one-cellular, stellato-fasciculate, ovato-acuminate, rough.

Genus CLII., *Gymnosporium Cd.* Mycelium very obscure. Spores one-cellular, arising apparently from the matrix.

ORDER XV. PUCCINIŒI.

Spores producing on germination secondary spores.

Genus CLIII., *Xenodochus Schlecht.* Spores multiseptate, breaking up into many distinct articulations.

Genus CLIV., *Aregma Fr.* Spores cylindrical, multiseptate, scarcely moniliform, borne on a long peduncle.

Aregma bulbosum *Fr.*, on bramble leaves, common.

——— obtusatum *Fr.*, on leaves of potentilla fragariastrum.

Genus CLV., *Triphragmium Lk.* Spores three-locular; septa mostly vertical and horizontal.

Genus CLVI., *Puccinia P.* Spores one-septate, supported on a distinct peduncle.

Puccinia graminis P., common on wheat, &c.

——— anemones P., on anemone nemorosa.

——— betonicæ D. C., on betony, South Wraxhall.

——— buxi *D. C.*, on box, Spye Park.

——— fabæ *Lk.*, on beans, common.

——— lychnidearum Lk., on caryophyllaceæ.

Genus CLVII., *Gymnosporangium D. C.* Peduncles extremely

long, agglutinated by gelatine into a tremelloid, expanded mass. Spores one-septate.

Genus CLVIII., *Podisoma Lk.* Peduncles extremely long, agglutinated by gelatine into a common stem, spreading out above into a clavariœform mass. Spores mostly one-septate.

Podisoma juniperi communis, on juniper, Warleigh.

Genus CLIX., *Uredo Lév.* Stroma composed of little, irregular cells, forming a lentiform disc, whose surface is covered with many layers of cells, each of which incloses a spore. Spores simple, without any appendage.

Genus CLX., *Trichobasis Lév.* Spores free, attached at first to a short peduncle, caducous.

Trichobasis rubigo Lév., on grasses, common.

——— symphyti Lév., on comfrey.

——— suaveolens Lév., on thistles.

Genus CLXI., *Uromyces Lév.* Spores one-locular, attached permanently to a decided peduncle.

Genus CLXII., *Coleosporium Lév.* Spores cylindrical, septate, some separating at the joints, others of a different nature persistent.

Coleosporium sonchi-arvensis Lév., on sow-thistle.

Genus CLXIII., *Melampsora Cast.* Spores of two orders, crowded into a dense, compact mass, with or without a covering, wedge-shaped.

Genus CLXIV., *Lecythea Lév.* Stroma surrounded, or sprinkled with elongated abortive spores. Spores free, invested with their mother-cell, or concatenate.

Lecythea euphorbiæ Lév., on euphorbiæ, Rudlow.

Genus CLXV., *Cystopus Lév.* Receptacle consisting of thick branched threads. Spores concatenate, at length separating.

Cystopus candidus Lév., on shepherd's purse, &c.

Genus CLXVI., *Polycystis Lév.* Spores irregular, consisting of several cells.

Polycystis colchici, Rudlow, on colchicum autumnale.

Genus CLXVII., *Tilletia Tul.* Spores spherical, springing from delicate branched threads. Epispore reticulated.

Tilletia caries Tul., on grains of wheat, &c.

Genus CLXVIII., *Ustilago Lk.* Plant deeply seated. Spores simple, springing from delicate threads, or produced in the form of closely packed cells, which alternately break up into a powdery mass.

Ustilago segetum Dittm., on seeds of cereals, &c.

Genus CLXIX., *Tuburcinia Fr.* Plant deeply seated. Spores multicellular, subglobose, or conchiform.

ORDER XVI. CŒOMACEI.

Genus CLXX., *Rœstelia Reb.* Peridium elongated, the component cells at length separating, or lacerated.

Genus CLXXI., *Peridermium Chev.* Peridium elongated, at length ruptured irregularly.

Genus CLXXII., *Œcidium P.* Peridium rarely elongated, opening by radiating reflected teeth, or very short, and bursting irregularly. Spores concatenate.

Œcidium allii *Grev.*, on allium ursinum.

———— ari *Rudolphi*, on arum maculatum.

———— compositarum *Mart.*, on various compositæ.

———— ranunculacearum *P.*, on ranunculus ficaria.

———— rubellatum Rabenh., on docks.

———— euphorbiæ *P.*, on spurge.

———— urticarum Schum., on nettles.

———— crassum P., on buckthorn, Chippenham.

Genus CLXXIII., *Endophyllum Lév.* Peridium inclosed in the leaf, bursting irregularly.

Family IV. Hyphomycetes.

Hyphomycetes. Fertile threads compacted, sometimes replaced by cells.

Isariacei.	Stem or stroma compound, spores dry, volatile.
Stilbacei.	Receptacle subglobose, stem or stroma compound. Mass of spores moist, diffluent.

Hyphomycetes *(continued)*.

Fertile threads perfectly free, or slightly anastomising.

Dematiei.	Fertile threads dark, carbonized. Spores often compound and cellular.
Mucedines.	Fertile threads very distinct, mostly white or coloured. Spores mostly simple, scattered, or collected in heads.
Sepedoniei.	Fertile threads scarcely distinct from the mycelium. Spores very abundant.

Flocci covering the spores, and forming a kind of peridium, which at length vanishes in the centre.

Trichodermacci.

ORDER XVII. ISARIACEI.

Genus CLXXIV., *Isaria Hill.* Receptacle elongated, floccose, without any distinct heads. Tips of threads only free.

Isaria Friesii, *Mont.*, Spye Park, on sticks.

—— intricata *Fr.*, Lucknam Grove, on decaying Agarics.

Genus CLXXV., *Anthina Fr.* Receptacle elongated, vertical, confluent with the stem, dilated above. Tips of threads only free.

Genus CLXXVI., *Ceratium A. and S.* Receptacle branched, cylindrical, membranous, reticulated, subgelatinous, clothed with short fertile flocci, one in the centre of each reticulation.

Ceratium hydnoides A. and S., Bowood.

Genus CLXXVII., *Pachnocybe B.* Stem solid, filiform below, clavate above, dusted with the minute spores.

Pachnocybe subulata *B.*, Rudlow, on herbaceous stems.

ORDER XVIII. STILBACEI.

Genus CLXXVIII., *Stilbum Tode.* Stem firm, elongated. Head nearly globose. Spores minute, or elongated, involved in gluten.

Stilbum erythrocephalum *Dictm.*, Spye Park, on rabbits dung.

Genus CLXXIX., *Atractium Fr.* Stem firm. Head subglobose. Spores fusiform, elongated.

Genus CLXXX., *Volutella, Tode.* Receptacle fringed, or studded with long hyaline bristles. Spores diffluent, gelatinous.

Volutella Buxi *B. and B.*, Spye Park, on box.

——— ciliata *Fr.*, common on decaying plants.

——— melaloma *B. and B.*, Spye Park, on Carex pendula.

Genus CLXXXI., *Tubercularia Tode.* Receptacle verrucoeform innate, clothed with a dense stratum of gelatinous minute spores.

Tubercularia vulgaris Tode, is probably a conidioid state of Nectria cinnabarina Fr.

Genus CLXXXII., *Fusarium Lk.* Receptacle discoid, innato-erumpent, immarginate, clothed with diffluent subgelatinous spores.

Fusarium tremelloides *Grev.*, on dead nettles.

Genus CLXXXIII., *Myrothecium Tode.* Receptacle at length marginate. Spores diffluent, oblong, forming a flat, or slightly convex, dark green stratum.

Genus CLXXXIV., *Epicoccum Lk.* Receptacle subglobose, vesicular, studded with large, somewhat stipitate spores.

Epicoccum neglectum *Desm.*, Spye Park on dead potamogeton.

Genus CLXXXV., *Illosporium Mart.* Receptacle obscure. Spores irregular, falling away like meal.

Genus CLXXXVI., *Œgerita P.* Receptacle obscure, spores irregular, disposed in short moniliform threads at the apices of flexuous, branched, radiating, compacted peduncles.

Œgerita candida P., Spye Park, on rotten sticks.

ORDER XIX. DEMATICI.

Genus CLXXXVII., *Arthrobotryum Cesati.* Common stem composed of jointed threads. Spores large, radiating so as to form a little head, dark, septate.

Genus CLXXXVIII., *Dendryphium Cd.* Threads free, jointed, simple below, branched above. Branches and branchlets often monilioid. Spores septate, acrogenous, concatenated.

Genus CLXXXIX., *Periconia Cd.* Stem composed of fasciaelate, compacted threads, head globose. Spores fixed to the free apices of the threads.

Genus CXC., *Sporocybe Fr.* Flocci septate, free, heads globose, studded with spores.

Sporocybe byssoides *Fr.*, Rudlow, on dead stems.

Genus CXCI., *Stachybotrys Cd.* Flocci septate, free. Branches bearing short, verticillate ramuli at their apices, forming a little head, and each terminated by a spore.

Genus CXCII., *Haplographium B. and B.* Flocci septate, free, black. Spores concatenate, hyaline.

Genus CXCIII., *Monotospora Cd.* Flocci septate, free, black, bearing one, or rarely two (by division) large, black, subglobose spores at their apex.

Genus CXCIV., *Cephatotrichum Lk.* Flocci free, septate, branched at the apex, and forming there a little globose tuft of hairs, on which are seated the spherical spores.

Genus CXCV., *Œdemium Fr.* Flocci free, dark, flexuous. Spores seated on sporangiform bodies towards their base.

Genus CXCVI., *Helminthosporium Lk.* Flocci irregular, simple or slightly branched, bearing here and there multiseptate spores.

Helminthosporium macrocarpum *Grev.*, Rudlow, &c., on sticks.

———————— apicale *B. and B.*, Langley, Chippenham, on sticks.

———————— gongotrichum *Cd.*, Bowood.

Genus CXCVII., *Macrosporium Fr.* Flocci obscure, or delicate. Spores erect, basal, pedicellate, with at length transverse, and vertical septa.

Genus CXCVIII., *Triposporium Cd.* Flocci erect, jointed, bearing at their apices tri-radiate, articulated spores.

Genus CXCIX., *Helicoma Cd.* Flocci erect, dark, jointed, bearing on their sides pale, flat, spiral spores.

Genus CC., *Cladotrichum Cd.* Flocci erect, thick, branched. Upper joints cup-shaped, or inflated. Spores large, septate.

Genus CCI., *Polythrincium Kze.* Flocci moniliform. Spores springing from the midst of the flocci, didymous.

Polythrincium trifolii *Kze.*, common on clover.

Genus CCII., *Cladosporium Lk.* Flocci flexuous, more or less branched, jointed, flexible. Spores short, at length one-septate, springing from the sides, or terminal.

Cladosporium herbarum *Lk.*, very common on decaying vegetables.

Genus CCIII., *Arthrinium Kze.* Flocci erect, septate, dark, and slightly thickened at the septa. Spores straight, swollen in the middle, and pointed at either extremity.

Arthrinium sporophleum *Kze.*, Spye Park, on sedges.

Genus CCIV., *Gonatosporium Cd.* Flocci erect, septate, thickened at the septa. Spores irregularly biconical, and in consequence somewhat angular, attached in whorls.

Gonatosporium puccinioides *Cd.*, Rudlow, on sedges.

Genus CCV., *Camptoum Lk.* Flocci erect, septate, thickened at the septa, and black. Spores curved, dark, fixed in clusters at the apices.

Camptoum curvatum *Lk.*, Spye Park, on scirpus sylvaticus.

Genus CCVI., *Sporodum Cd.* Flocci erect, septate. Threads of inarticulate spores moniliform, seated towards their base.

Sporodum conopleoides *Cd.*, Spye Park, &c., on grasses.

ORDER XX. MUCEDINES.

Genus CCVII., *Aspergillus Mich.* Threads erect, articulate, crowned with a globose head, producing necklaces of spores.

Aspergillus glaucus *Lk.*, common on decaying matter.

Genus CCVIII., *Nematogonum Desm.* Threads clavate at the apices, and bearing necklaces of spores on distinct, scattered spicules.

Nematogonum aureum *B.*, on elm bark, Bowood and Rudlow.

Genus CCIX., *Rhinotrichum Cd.* Threads erect, articulate, clavate above, and bearing spores attached to spicules.

Genus CCX., *Botrytis Mich.* Threads septate, irregularly, or dichotomously branched, hyaline, or coloured. Spores terminal.

Botrytis Tilletii *Desm.*, Rudlow, on leaves, &c.

Genus CCXI., *Peronospora Cd.* Parasitic threads mostly inarticulate. Spores of two kinds; 1, on the tips of the branchlets; 2, large, globose, on the creeping mycelium.

Peronospora infestans *Casp.*, on potato leaves, forming the potato disease.

Genus CCXII., *Verticillium Lk.* Flocci septate, hyaline, or coloured. Branches verticillate. Spores apical.

Verticillium epimyces *B. and B.*, on decaying truffles at Stourhead and Bowood.

Genus CCXIII., *Haplaria Lk.* Flocci simple or forked, jointed. Spores scattered over the tips of the threads.

Genus CCXIV., *Polyactis Lk.* Flocci septate, brownish, branched above. Spores hyaline, in terminal clusters.

Polyactis cinerea *B.*, common on decaying plants, &c.

Genus CCXV., *Penicillium Lk.* Flocci divided above in a fasciculate manner septate, as well as the branches, which are terminated by necklaces of spores, collected into tassel-like heads.

Penicillium roseum *Lk.*, Spye Park, on box leaves.

Genus CCXVI., *Oiidium Lk.* Flocci very short, producing a moniliform string of spores by tomiparous division.

Oiidium fulvum *Lk.*, on rotten wood.

Genus CCXVII., *Monilia Hill.* Flocci erect, jointed; bearing fasciculate necklaces of spores at their apices. Head none.

Genus CCXVIII., *Dactylium Nees.* Flocci erect, jointed, branched, bearing at the tips of the branchlets, either scattered, or in tufts, septate spores.

Dactylium macrosporum *Fr.*, Spye Park, on decaying fungi.

———— roseum *B.*, (Trichothecium roseum Fr.) on dead plants.

Genus CCXIX., *Fusidium Lk.* Flocci coloured, very delicate, evanescent. Spores straight, filiform.

Fusidium griseum *Lk.*, on dead leaves, common.

———— flavo-virens *Fr.* ditto

Genus CCXX., *Sporotrichum Lk.* Flocci ascending, tufted, septate. Spores simple, scattered, at first concealed.

Genus CCXXI., *Zygodesmus Cd.* Flocci short, erect, springing from the creeping sterile threads; joints here and there cut half-way through, opposite which the threads are swollen into a sort of knee.

Zygodesmus fuscus *Cd.*, Lucknam Grove, on dead sticks, &c.

Genus CCXXII., *Virgaria Nees.* Flocci erect, dichotomous, virgate, black, septate. Spores minute, scattered over the branches.

Genus CCXXIII., *Bolacotricha, B. and Br.* Flocci unbranched, jointed, curled at the top. Spores large, globose, shortly pedicellate, conglomerated towards their base. On dead cabbage leaves.

Genus CCXXIV., *Myxotrichum Kze.* Flocci branched, bearing towards their base little conglomerated masses of spores.

Genus CCXXV., *Gonytrichum Nees.* Flocci branched, here and there bearing knots, from which spring the verticillate, fertile, septate threads, crowned at the tips with a globose mass of spores.

Genus CCXXVI., *Menispora P.* Flocci erect, jointed. Spores heterogeneous, acrogenous, fusiform, or cylindrical, simple, at first joined together in bundles, then irregularly scattered over the flocci.

Genus CCXXVII., *Chætopsis Grev.* Flocci erect, jointed, subulate, below branched and verticillate, above simple and flagelliform. Spores cylindrical, springing from the tips of the branchlets.

Genus CCXXVIII., *Acremonium Lk.* Flocci creeping, jointed, beset with short, patent branches, each of which bears a spore.

Genus CCXXIX., *Gonatobotrys Cd.* Threads erect, jointed; articulations swollen in the middle, and bearing obovate spores on little spicules.

Genus CCXXX., *Botryosporium Cd.* Flocci slightly branched, bearing patent branchlets, each of which is surmounted by a few spicules bearing a head of spores.

Genus CCXXXI., *Clonostachys Cd.* Flocci jointed above. Branches and branchlets quaternate, subcapitate, clothed with spores, forming distinct spikes,

Genus CCXXXII., *Papulaspora Preuss.* Flocci decumbent, jointed, producing short erect branches, each of which produces a cellular head studded with erect spores, the endochrome of which is bipartite, or quadripartite.

Genus CCXXXIII., *Rhopalomyces Cd.* Flocci free, septate, swelling at the tip into an areolate head, each cell of which bears a spicule, surmounted by a spore.

ORDER XXI. SEPEDONIEI.

Genus CCXXXIV., *Sepedonium Lk.* Spores large, simple and globose, or appendiculate.

Sepedonium chrysosporum *Fr.*, Bowood, on decaying fungi.

———— roseum *Fr.*, on decaying fungi, Bowood.

Genus CCXXXV., *Fusisporium Lk.* Spores elongated, fusiform, curved, at length septate, forming a gelatinous mass.

Fusisporium bacilligerum *B. and B.*, Spye Park, on leaves of alaternus.

Genus CCXXXVI., *Epochnium Lk.* Sterile flocci creeping fertile obsolete. Spores septate, attached apparently to the matrix.

Genus CCXXXVII., *Psilonia Fr.* Flocci persistent, joined into an erumpent mass, at first covering the simple spores.

Psilonia gilva P., Rudlow, on sedges, &c.

ORDER XXII. TRICHODERMACEI.

Genus CCXXXVIII., *Pilacre Fr.* Stem solid, cylindrical. Head globose composed of flexuous, branched, radiating threads. Spores produced near the tips, forming a dusty mass.

Pilacre faginea *B. and B.*, Spye Park, on beech sticks.

Genus CCXXXIX., *Institale Fr.* Stem none; common mass containing many cavities filled with spores.

Genus CCXL., *Trichoderma P.* Peridium spurious, indeterminate, roundish, composed of interwoven, even flocci, at length vanishing in the centre. Spores spread over the disc.

Trichoderma viride P., common on dead wood.

Genus CCXLI., *Arthroderma Curr.* Peridium spurious, indeterminate, roundish, composed of interwoven, strongly constricted, jointed flocci. Spores collected in the centre.

Family V. Ascomycetes.

Ascomycetes. — Asci persistent.

Elvellacei.	Carnose, waxy, or tremelloid. Hymenium exposed, rarely nearly closed.
Tuberacei.	Hypogæous. Hymenium mostly complicated.
Phacidiacei.	Hard, or coriaceous. Hymenium at length exposed. Disc orbicular, or very narrow and linear, surrounded by the obtuse or inflected margin.
Sphæriacei.	Perithecia opening by a distinct, punctiform, or short linear ostiolum. Asci mostly springing from the walls.

Ascomycetes *(cont.)* — Asci often evanescent.

Perisporiacei. Perithecia free, closed, often surrounded by variously-shaped threads. Asci springing from the base.

Onygenci. Receptacle clavæform Asci springing from threads, which traverse its cavity. Sporidia at length pulverulent.

In the Elvellacei the hymenium is open from the first, and is of a fleshy, waxy, or gelatinous texture. This soft texture is a great characteristic of the Order, and presents many difficulties to a beginner, which however disappear when a few of the genera have been determined. The Morels belong here, and they scarcely differ from some of the Tuberacei except in place of growth. Gautieria a hypogœous species growing in the South of Europe, presents a strong resemblance to the Morels. The genus Peziza is one very numerous in species, and although it yields in the beauty of its fruit to the genus Sphœria, yet it surpasses most other Fungi in that of its form, and clothing, and in the colour of its hymenium. Nothing can surpass Peziza coccinea, or P. aurantia, in colour. Peziza acetabulum yields to no plant in elegance of form. And many of the more minute species excel in the beauty of their clothing. Peziza trechispora lastly equals any other Fungus in its echinulate fruit, and its curious paraphyses. Several other plants of this division afford interesting microscopic objects. Geoglossum and Vibrissea, for instance, in their singular fruit are well worthy examination. Sphœriacei exceed perhaps all other Fungi in the variety and beauty of their sporidia.

ORDER XXIII. ELVELLACEI.

Genus CCXLII., *Morchella Dill.* Receptacle clavate, or pileate, impervious in the centre, stipitate, covered with the hymenium, which is deeply folded and pitted.

Morchella esculenta P., Hartham Park.

Genus CCXLIII., *Gyromytra Fr.* Receptacle inflated, bullate, rough with raised gyrose ribs.

Genus CCXLIV., *Helvella L.* Receptacle pileate, hanging down over the stem, concave, and barren below. Hymenium even.

Helvella crispa *Fr.*, Rudlow, fir plantations.

——— lacunosa *Afr.*, Corsham, woods.

——— elastica *Bull.*, Bowood.

Genus CCXLV., *Verpa Swartz.* Receptacle clavato-pileate, hollow below and inflated, or conical and adpressed, equally deflexed all round; hymenium rugulose, but not costate, or nearly even.

Genus CCXLVI., *Mitrula Fr.* Soft, and fleshy, simple, capitate. Stem distinct. Hymenium surrounding the inflated club.

Mitrula cucullata *Fr.*, Rudlow, fir plantations.

Genus CCXLVII., *Spathularia P.* Disc capitate, compressed, running down into the stem on either side.

Spathularia flavida P., Lucknam Grove, fir plantations.

Genus CCXLVIII., *Leotia Hill.* Receptacle pileate, supported in the centre by the stem; margin revolute, covered everywhere with the smooth, somewhat viscid hymenium.

Leotia lubrica P., Rudlow, in woods.

Genus CCXLIX., *Vibrissea Fr.* Receptacle capitate, supported in the centre by the stem, covered above with the hymenium. Margin adnate to the stem. Asci and filiform sporidia bursting forth, and rendering the hymenium velvety.

Genus CCL., *Geoglossum P.* Receptacle clavate, simple, confluent with the stem. Hymenium surrounding the club.

Geoglossum olivaceum P., Bathford Down.

——————— glabrum P., common on open downs.

——————— hirsutum P., ditto

Genus CCLI., *Peziza L.* Cup-shaped; cup more or less concave, soon open. Disc naked. Asci fixed.

Series I., *Aleuria Fr.* Fleshy, or between fleshy and membranaceous, externally pruinose, or floccoso-furfuraceous. Mostly growing on the ground.

Subgenus i., *Discina Fr.* Cup always open, or connivent when young. Veil superficial.

Peziza acetabulum *L.*, Rudlow, under beech trees. Spring.

——— badia *P.*, Bowood, Summer, woods.

——— onotica *P.*, ditto Autumn.
——— aurantia *Fr.*, ditto woods and banks.
——— cochleata *Bull.*, ditto woods.
——— repanda *Wahl.*, Rudlow, on the ground.

Subgenus ii., *Geopyxis Fr.* Veil innate. Cup when young subglobose, closed, then open and orbicular. Substance fleshy, rarely fibrous.

Peziza macropus P., Bowood, under beech, &c.
——— tuberosa Bull., ditto
——— granulata Bull., on cow dung, common.

Subgenus iii., *Humaria.* Veil thin, submarginal, flocculose fugacious. Cup sessile, entire, flattened. Colour bright. Terrestrial.
——— melaloma *A. and S.*, Cleeve Pypard, on the ground, where weeds, &c., had been burnt.
——— polytrichi *Schum.*, Bowood.
——— leucoloma *Fr.*, Box.
——— glumarum Desm., Cliff Pypard, on chaff.

Subgenus iv,, *Encœlia Fr.* Veil universal, fugacious, furfuraceous, cup hollow, from fleshy becoming coriaceous, sometimes brittle, growing on bark of trees.

Series II., *Lachnea Fr.* Veil distinct, decidedly villous, or pilose persistent. Cup in consequence bristly, or hairy; always closed when young. Substance waxy, firm, rarely fleshy.

Subgenus v., *Sarcoscypha Fr.* Fleshy. Veil villous.

Peziza coccinea Jacq., on dead sticks, common, February.
——— hemisphærica *Wigg.*, Rudlow, beech and fir plantations.
——— hirta *Schum.*, Bowood.
——— trechispora *B. and B.*, ditto
——— scutellata *Sow.*, Rudlow, on rotten stumps.
——— stercorea P., Rudlow, on cow dung.

Subgenus vi., *Dasyscypha Fr.* Cup thin, waxy, dry. Disc smooth, externally pilose or villous. Hymenium thin. Substance subfloccose.

Peziza virginea *Batsch.*, common.
——— bicolor *Bull.*, Rudlow, on larch sticks.
——— cerinea *P.*, ditto on stumps.

——— caulicola Fr., Lucknam Grove, on dead herbs.
——— corticalis P., Rudlow, on bark of trees.
——— sulfurea P., common on nettle stems.
——— villosa P., ditto on dead herbs.
——— apala *B. and B.*, Spye Park, on dead junci.
——— hyalina P., Rudlow, on stumps.
——— clavariarum *Desm.*, Rudlow, on decaying clavariæ.
——— straminum B. and B., on straw and junci, Rudlow.

Subgenus vii., *Tapesia Fr.* Cups waxy, or subcoriaceous, crowded into a sort of crust-like stratum, or sitting on a tomentose subiculum.

Peziza anomala *B.*, common on dead sticks, &c.
——— mutabilis *B. and B.*, on aira cœspitosa, canal side, near Derry Hill.
——— fusca *P.*, common on dead wood.

Subgenus viii., *Fibrina Fr.* Waxy, or subcoriaceous, dry, at length smooth, at first marked with adpressed hairs. Margin torn or toothed.

Series III., *Philea Fr.* Veil none. Cups waxy, or membranaceous, quite smooth (or very rarely mealy, or subtomentose), soon open. Subiculum none.

Subgenus ix., *Hymenoscypha Fr.* Cup membranaceous, distinctly stipitate. Hymenium distinct, thicker than the walls of the cup.

Peziza firma P., Bowood, &c,, on dead sticks.
——— inflexa *Bolt.*, Rudlow, on decaying herbs.
——— cyathoidea *Bull.*, ditto

Subgenus x., *Mollisia Fr.* Freely evolved, smooth. Cups turbinato-stipitate, or sessile, soft and waxy.

Peziza clavus *A. and S.*, Hartham Park, on dead grass.
——— vinosa *A. and G.*, Rudlow, on stumps, &c.
——— cinerea *Batsch.*, ditto
——— sphœrioides *Desm.*, ditto on lychnis dioica.
——— erumpens *Grev.*, Hartham, on petioles.
——— cornea *B. and B.*, Spye Park, on carex paniculata.
——— fusarioides *B.*, Rudlow, &c., on nettles.

Subgenus xi., *Patellea Fr.* Cup sessile, at first subinnate, scarcely

erumpent, waxy but tough, flattened, open, orbicular, marginate, dry, lichenoid.

Peziza flexella Fr., Rudlow, on dead wood.

Genus CCLII., *Helotium Fr.* Disc always open, at first punctiform, then dilated, convex, or concave, naked. Excipulum waxy, free, marginate, externally naked.

Subgenus i., *Pelastea Fr.* Disc convex. Receptacle hollow beneath, or flattened.

Helotium aciculare *Fr.*, Rudlow, on stumps.

———— œruginosum *Fr.* Bowood, on rotten boughs.

Subgenus ii., *Calycella Fr.* At first turbinate. Disc concave. Stem firm when present.

Helotium calyculus Fr., Rudlow, on dead branches.

Helotium citrinum Fr. Rudlow, on stumps, &c.

———— pallescens Fr., ditto

———— ochraceum B., ditto

———— claro-flavum, Rudlow, on dead sticks.

———— herbarum Fr., ditto on dead herbs.

———— epiphyllum Fr., Stourhead and Lucknam.

Genus CCLIII., *Psilopezia B.* Indeterminate, immarginate, agglutinate. Hymenium always exposed.

Genus CCLIV., *Patellaria Fr.* Receptacle patellœform, margined, always open. Hymenium even, subpersistent, but dusty from the breaking up of the asci. Asci fixed.

Patellaria atrata *Fr.*, common on rails, &c.

———— clavispora *B. and B.*, Lucknam Grove, on privet.

Genus CCLV., *Sphinctrina Fr.* Excipulum almost horny naked, pierced with a narrow, quite entire mouth. Disc at length dusted with the sporidia,

Genus CCLVI., *Laquearia Fr.* Disc waxy, persistent, without any hypothecium, but covered with a horny, coriaceous, dimidiate, superior, deciduous excipulum. Mouth contracted.

Genus CCLVII., *Tympanis Tode.* Receptacle margined, cyathiform, horny. Hymenium at first veiled, then breaking up.

Tympanis saligna *Tode.*, Lucknam and Monkton Farleigh, on privet.

Genus CCLVIII., *Cenangium Fr.* Receptacle coriaceous, closed at first, then open, marginate, covered with a thick cuticle. Hymenium persistent.

Cenangium quercinum Fr., common on oak twigs.

Genus CCLIX., *Ascobolus Tode.* Receptacle orbicular, marginate. Disc patellæform. Asci bursting forth elastically.

Ascobolus furfuraceous P., on cow dung, common.

——— vinosus B., on rabbits dung, Spye Park.

——— ciliatus Schmidt., on horse dung, &c., common.

Genus CCLX., *Bulgaria Fr.* Receptacle orbicular, thin truncate, glutinous within, at first closed. Hymenium even, persistent, smooth.

Bulgaria inquinans *Fr.*, on oak timber, common.

——— sarcoides Fr., on decayed stumps, common.

Genus CCLXI., *Agyrium Fr.* Receptacle compact, homogeneous, waxy, gelatinous when moist, innate, sessile, sphœrical, even, smooth, and fructifying all round. Asci fixed.

Genus CCLXII., *Stictis P.* Receptacle obsolete. Hymenium even, determinate, orbicular and elliptic, immersed in the matrix, at first veiled.

Subgenus i., *Eustictis Fr.* Often margined, suborbicular. Hymenium persistent.

Stictis radiata *P.*, common on sticks, &c., and on aira cœspitosa at Spye Park.

——— hysterioides *Desm.*, Spye Park, on sedges.

Subgenus ii., *Hylographa Fr.* Elliptic or elongated. Hymenium deliquescent.

Subgenus iii., *Propolis* Fr. Waxy, firm, round or irregular. Hymenium even, at length dusty.

Stictis versicolor Fr., common on wood.

Genus CCLXIII., *Ascomyces Mont. and Desm.* Parasitic. Receptacle none. Asci forming a thin, pulverulent stratum, mixed with moniliform threads.

ORDER XXIV. TUBERACEI.

Genus CCLXIV., *Tuber Mich.* Asci short, saccate, disposed in

sinuous veins. Sporidia elliptic, reticulate, often echinulate. Peridium warty, or tubercled, sometimes smooth, without any definite base.

Tuber brumale *Mich.*, Corsham Park.

—— æstivum *Vitt.*, Castle Combe and other localities where it is collected for the market.

—— mesentericum *Vitt.*, Bowood, under beech trees.

—— macrosporum *Vitt.*, Shockerwick, under oaks, &c.

—— rufum *Vitt.*, Bowood, under birch.

—— nitidum *Vitt.*, ditto and Rudlow.

—— excavatum Vitt., Rudlow, in coppices.

Genus CCLXV., *Choiromyces Vitt.* Common integument even. Base definite. Asci clavate. Sporidia sphœrical.

Choiromyces mæandriformis *Vitt.*, Marlborough Forest under beech trees.

Genus CCLXVI., *Amylocarpus Currey.* Common integument thick, convolute. Asci soon absorbed, saccate. Sporidia globose, clothed with radiating threads, amylaceous.

Genus CCLXVII., *Pachyphlœus Tul.* Common integument, warty, opening by a terminal aperture. Base distinct. Sporidia sphærical.

Pachyphlœus melanoxanthus *Tul.*, Bowood, in sandy ground under beech trees.

———— citrinus *B. and B.*, Bowood and Warleigh.

Genus CCLXVIII., *Stephensia Tul.* Common integument fleshy, cottony. Base distinct. Hymenium intricate. Asci cylindrical. Sporidia globose, even, at length verrucose.

Stephensia bombycina *Tul.*, Castle Combe.

Genus CCLXIX., *Hydnotrya B. and B.* Common integument minutely papillose, not distinct. Hymenium complicated with gyrose lacunæ leading to the surface. Asci oblong. Sporidia globose, tuberculate.

Hydnotrya Tulasneii B. and B., Spye Park and Stourhead, in sandy ground under beech trees.

Genus CCLXX., *Hydnobolites Tul.* Integument replaced by white, evanescent down. Hymenium complicated with sinuous

lacunæ ending at the surface. Asci elliptic. Sporidia globose.

Genus CCLXXI., *Sphœrosoma Kl.* Common integument wanting. Hymenium exposed, even or rugose, solid or lacunose. Asci linear. Sporidia sphærical.

Genus CCLXXII., *Balsamia Vitt.* Common integument warty. Hymenium complicated with distinct lacunæ not leading to the surface. Sporidia cylindrical, or oblong-elliptic, even, pellucid.

Balsamea platyspora *B. and B.*, Rudlow, in a plantation of fir and beech.

Genus CCLXXIII., *Genea Vitt.* Common integument warty, with an aperture at the apex. Hymenium waved and sinuated, but not forming an intricate mass. Asci cylindrical. Sporidia globose.

Genea verrucosa *Vitt.*, Bowood, and near Salisbury under beech trees.

——— hispidula B. and B., Bowood.

Genus CCLXXIV., *Elaphomyces Nees.* Common integument thick, hard. Asci globose, or obovate. Sporidia consisting of several concentric utricles. Internal mass at length dusty.

Elaphomyces variegatus *Vitt.*, Spye Park in sandy ground under beech trees.

ORDER XXV. PHACIDIACEI.

Genus CCLXXV., *Phacidium Fr.* Perithecium bursting irregularly in the centre by valvular teeth.

Genus CCLXXVI., *Heterosphœria Grev.* Perithecium globoso-depressed, thin, black, at length open above and irregularly torn. Disc thick, placentoeform.

Heterosphœria patella *Grev,,* on umbelliferous stems common, but rarely perfect.

Genus CCLXXVII., *Rhytisma Fr.* Perithecia forming a confluent mass, opening by flexuous fissures.

Rhytisma acerinum Fr., on sycamore and maple leaves common.

———— salicinum Fr., on willow leaves.

Genus CCLXXVIII., *Triblidium Reb.* Perithecium labiate, splitting from the centre towards the circumference.

Genus CCLXXIX., *Hysterium Tode.* Perithecium labiate; border entire; orifice narrow linear. Asci elongated.

Hysterium pulicare *P.*, Spye Park, common on sticks.
——— fraxini P., ditto and Rudlow.
——— pinastri *Schrad.*, ditto on fir leaves.
——— caricinum *Desm.*, ditto on sedges.
——— foliicolum Fr., on leaves of cratœgus crusgalli, Shockerwick.

Genus CCLXXX., *Ailographum Lib.* Perithecia branched, opening with a narrow linear fissure. Asci subglobose.

Genus CCLXXXI., *Asterina Lév.* Perithecia semiorbicular, seated on a byssoid mycelium, mouthless, at length splitting irregularly. Asci short, mostly subglobose.

Genus CCLXXXII., *Lophium Fr.* Perithecia stipitate, wedge-shaped, opening with a narrow longitudinal fissure. Asci elongated.

Genus CCLXXXIII., *Stegia Fr.* Perithecium orbicular, splitting horizontally; operculum deciduous.

Genus CCLXXXIV., *Trochila Fr.* Disc innate, erumpent, placed upon a black hypothecium, persistent.

Trochila lauro-cerasi Fr., on leaves of Portugal laurel.

ORDER XXVI. SPHÆRIACEI.

Genus CCLXXXV., *Cordyceps Fr.* Stroma vertical, fleshy. Fructifying head distinct, hyaline, or coloured. Sporidia repeatedly divided, submoniliform.

Cordyceps militaris *Fr.*, Bowood, on pupæ of moths, buried in the ground. Autumn.
——— entomorrhiza *Fr.*, Hartham Park, on caterpillars buried in the ground in fir plantations. May.
——— ophioglossoides *Fr.*, Spye Park, on elaphomyces variegatus *Vitt.*
——— purpurea *Fr.*, on ergot of grasses.
——— alutacea *Fr.*, Lucknam Grove, fir plantations.

Genus CCLXXXVI., *Hypocrea Fr.* Stroma horizontal. Perithecia tender, hyaline or coloured.

Hypocrea rufa *Fr.*, Bowood, on oak.

——— typhina *B.*, on living grasses, Bowood, &c.

Genus CCLXXXVII., *Endothia Fr.* Red or tawny. Perithecia irregular, pallid, cellular. Asci diffluent.

Genus CCLXXXVIII., *Xylaria Schrank.* Vertical. More or less stipitate. Stroma between fleshy and corky, covered with a black or rufous bark.

Xylaria polymorpha *Grev.*, Rudlow, &c., on stumps.

——— hypoxylon *Grev.*, very common on wood.

——— carpophila *Fr.*, Bowood, on beech mast.

——— bulbosa *B. and B.*, Lucknam Grove, fir plantations.

Genus CCLXXXIX., *Thamnomyces Ehrh.* Stem shrubby, or simple. Perithecia formed of the same substance as the stem.

Genus CCXC., *Poronia Fr.* Between fleshy and corky. Fructifying surface margined, concave, or flat, orbicular. Perithecia immersed, vertical.

Genus CCXCI., *Hypoxylon Bull.* Stroma corky, or brittle, convex, or plane, immarginate, at first clothed with a floccose veil, then with a black crust, distinct from the matrix. Perithecia vertical, or divergent.

Hypoxylon ustulatum *Bull.*, Rudlow, &c., on stumps.

——— gastrinum *Fr.*, ditto on elm timber, &c.

——— concentricum *Grev.*, ditto on ash trees.

——— coccineum *Bull.*, on beech trees, Bowood, &c.

——— multiforme *Fr.*, Rudlow, on wood.

——— fuscum *Fr.*, ditto common on sticks.

Genus CCXCII., *Diatrype Fr.* Stroma partly formed from the matrix, and not distinct from it; perithecia sunk, elongated above into a distinct neck, and often rostrate.

Diatrype bullata *Fr.*, Rudlow, on willow.

——— undulata *Fr.*, ditto on stumps.

——— stigma Fr., ditto common on sticks.

——— disciformis Fr., ditto on beech.

——— favacea Fr., Spye Park, on birch.

——— verrucœformis *Fr.*, Rudlow, on sticks.

——— lanciformis *Fr.*, Spye Park, on birch.

——— quercina *Fr.*, Rudlow, on oak.
——— ferruginea *Fr.*, ditto on hazel.
——— flavo-virens *Fr.*, ditto on various sticks.
——— sordida Fr.. Spye Park, on oak.
——— pyrrhocystis *B. and B.*, Shockerwick, on hazel.
——— corniculata *B. and B.*, Lucknam Grove, on branches.

Genus CCXCIII., *Valsa Fr.* Perithecia carbonaceous, perfect, circinating, elongated into converging necks; ostiola erumpent, joined together, or ending in a common disc.

Valsa prunastri *Fr.*, Rudlow, on sloe.
—— stellulata *Fr.*, ditto on elm.
—— syngenesia Spye Park, on elder.
—— fibrosa Fr., Rudlow, on buckthorn.
—— coronata Fr., Spye Park, on dead twigs.
—— chrysostroma *Fr.*, Lucknam Grove, on beech.
—— suffusa Fr., Spye Park, on birch.
—— leiphœmia Fr., Rudlow, on oak.
—— aucta *B. and B.*, Spye Park, on alder.
—— stilbostoma Fr., ditto on sticks.
—— tetratrupha *B. and B.*, Spye Park, on alder.
—— fenestrata *B. and B.*, ditto ditto
—— quaternata Fr., near Chippenham, on beech.

Genus CCXCIV., *Melogramma* Fr. Perithecia confluent with the stroma, more or less free above, destitute of any neck; contents oozing out, and often forming cirrhi.

Melogramma oligosporum *B. and B.*, Rudlow, on beech. (Sphœria macrospora *Desm.*)

Genus CCXCV., *Dothidea Fr.* Perithecia none. Nucleus contained in globose cavities, immersed in the stroma, with a decided neck, and papillœform ostiolum.

Dothidea ribesia *P.*, Tytherton, on dead currant bushes.
———— ulmi *Fr.*, common on dead elm leaves.
———— graminis Fr., ditto on half dead grass leaves.

Genus CCXCVI., *Isothea Fr.* Nucleus without any perithecium, coloured, or black, covered by the transformed substance of the matrix, or immersed in it.

Genus CCXCVII., *Hypospila Fr.* Perithecia globose black, mouthless, altogether innate, concealed by the blackened substance of the leaves, and when that falls away, splitting across.

Genus CCXCVIII., *Stigmatea Fr.* Parasitic. Perithecia globose, black, innate, slightly prominent. Nucleus firm, at first mouthless, then bursting with a roundish aperture.

Stigmatea Robertiani *Fr.*, on leaves of geranium robertianum.

Genus CCXCIX., *Oomyces B. and B.* Perithecia erect, contained in a polished, coloured sac, which is free above. Ostiola punctiform, apical.

Oomyces carneo-albus B. and B., Spye Park, on dead leaves of aira cœspitosa (Sphœria Libert.).

Genus CCC., *Nectria Fr.* Stroma none, or if present, bearing the naked, coloured perithecia on its surface.

Nectria cinnabarina Fr., common on sticks.

——— coccinea Fr., common

——— cucurbitula Fr., Lucknam Grove, on privet.

——— sinopica Fr., on ivy, common, often accompanied by perithecia bearing stylospores.

——— peziza *Fr.*, Rudlow, &c., on rotten wood.

——— sanguinea *Fr.*, common on sticks.

——— episphœria *Fr.*, ditto on hypoxyla.

——— ochraceo-pallida *B. and B.*, Spye Park, on dead alders.

——— Rousseliana *Mont.*, Spye Park, on box leaves.

Genus CCCI., *Sphœria Hall.* Perithecia black, pierced at the apex, mostly papillate, superficial, or erumpent, without any stroma.

Series I., Superficiales.

a. byssisedœ.

Sphæria aquila, *Fr.*, Rudlow, on sticks.

——— phœostroma *Mont.*, Rudlow, on sticks.

——— racodium *P.*, Spye Park, on wood.

——— vervicina *Desm.*, Rudlow, on the ground in woods.

b. villosœ.

——— macrotricha *B. and B.*, Spye Park, on chips and beech mast.

——— chœtomium *Cd.*, on sedges, Spye Park.
——— eres *B. and B.*, ditto ditto
——— hispida *Tode.*, Bowood, on dead wood.
——— helicospora *B. and B.*, Spye Park, on carex paniculata.

c. denudatæ.

——— bombarda *Batsch.*, Rudlow, on stumps.
——— spermoides *Hoffm.*, on dead wood, common
——— moriformis *Tode.*, on ditto Rudlow.
——— stercoraria *Sow.*, on rabbits dung, Spye Park.
——— pomiformis *P.*, Rudlow, on old apple trees.
——— pulvis-pyrius P., Shockerwick, &c., common on sticks.
——— myriocarpa *Fr.*, Langley, Chippenham, on dead wood.

d. pertusæ.

——— mastoidea *Fr.*, Spye Park, on sticks.

Series II., Erumpentes.

e. cæspitosæ.
f. obturatæ.
g. lophiostomæ.

——— macrostoma *Tode*, on holly, Spye Park.

h. ceratostomæ.

Series III., Subtectæ.

a. immersæ.

——— eutypa *Fr.*, Rudlow, on dead wood.
——— melanotes *B. and B.*, Langley, Chippenham, on poles of oak.

b. endophlæœ.
c. endocaulæ.

——— phomatospora *B. and B.*, Lucknam Grove, on potato haulm.

d. obtectæ.

——— siparia *B. and B.*, Spye Park, on birch sticks.
——— salicella *Fr.*, Langley, on willow poles.
——— argus *B. and B.*, Spye Park, on birch.
——— holoschista *B. and B.*, ditto on alder.

——— conformis *B. and B.*, Spye Park, on alder.
——— oblitescens *B. and B.*, ditto on some cornus.
——— clypeata *Fr.*, Derry Hill, on blackberry.
——— appendiculosa *B. and B.*, Bowood, on blackberry.
——— ditopa *Fr.*, Spye Park, on alder.
——— Thwaitesii *B. and B.*, Shockerwick, on umbelliferous stems.
——— tomicum *Lév.*, on dead grasses, Spye Park.
——— coniformis *Fr.*, on herbaceous stems.
——— carduorum *Wallr.*, on thistle stems.
——— herbarum *P.*, on herbaceous stems.
——— hæmatites *Roberge*, Box, on clematis vitalba.
——— planiuscula B. and B., Box, on herbaceous stems.
——— tubœformis *Tode*, Spye Park, on alder leaves.
——— phœosticta *B.*, ditto on carex pendula.
——— eucrypta *B. and B.*, ditto ditto.
——— palustris *B. and B.*, ditto on sedges.
——— carpinea *B. and B.*, Lucknam Grove, on leaves of hornbeam.
——— scirpicola *Desm.*, Spye Park, on typha.
——— tosta *B. and B.*, Rudlow, on epilobium hirsutum.
——— capreæ D. C., Derry Hill, on willow leaves.
——— brassicæ *Fr.*, Rudlow, &c., on cabbage leaves.
——— Buxi *Desm.*, Spye Park, on box leaves.
——— rumicis *Desm.*, Bowood, on dock leaves.

Genus CCCII., *Ceratostoma Fr.* Perithecium soft, membranaceous. Ostiolum subulate, pencilled at the tip, or simply papillœform. Asci soon disappearing. Sporidia oozing out and forming a mass at the ostiolum.

Genus CCCIII., *Massaria De Not.* Perithecium subcarbonaceous. Ostiolum papillœform. Sporidia septate, or simple, oozing out, and staining the matrix.

Massaria argus *B. and B.*, Spye Park, on birch.

Genus CCCIV., *Hercospora Fr.* Perithecium subcarbonaceous, cup-shaped, open above, covered by the bark, and differently coloured. Papilla heterogeneous, erumpent.

Genus CCCV., *Pyrenophora Fr.* Nucleus slowly formed, immersed in a sclerotioid mass, which performs the office of a perithecium. Ostiolum at length slightly prominent. Sporidia multiseptate.

Genus CCCVI., *Gibbera Fr.* Perithecium between waxy and horny, at length free, radiato-rimose from the centre. Always closed.

Gibbera pulicaris *Fr.*, Spye Park, on box twigs.

Genus CCCVII., *Dichœna Fr.* Perithecia subcarbonaceous, elliptic, closed, bursting by a longitudinal fissure. Nucleus and asci diffluent, innato-erumpent.

Dichœna rugosa *Fr.*, common on living bark of beech and oak.

Genus CCCVIII., *Capnodium Mont.* Parasitic. Mycelium creeping, black, consisting of branched, articulated, even, or moniliform threads. Perithecia elongated, frequently branched, composed of confluent threads, the tips of which are often free at the apex.

ORDER XXVII. PERISPORIACEI.

Genus CCCIX., *Perisporium Fr.* Peridium subglobose, without any manifest thallus or appendages. Asci clavate. Sporidia indefinite.

Genus CCCX., *Lasiobotrys Kze.* Erumpent, between fleshy and horny, proliferous, collapsing above, attached to radiating fibres. Secondary peridia ascigerous. Asci cylindrical.

Genus CCCXI., *Sphœrotheca Lév.* Mycelium arachnoid. Perithecia globose, containing a single globose ascus. Appendages numerous, floccose.

Genus CCCXII., *Phyllactinia Lév.* Parasitic. Perithecia hemispherical, at length depressed, seated on a persistent or evanescent membranaceo-granular receptacle. Appendages straight, rigid, acicular, at length bent back.

Genus CCCXIII., *Uncinula Lév.* Mycelium floccose. Perithecia globose. Appendages rigid, simple, bifid or dichotomous, uncinate, at length bent upwards.

Genus CCCXIV., *Microsphœra Lév.* Mycelium arachnoid. Appendages straight, dichotomous. Branchlets swelling at the tip, or filiform.

Genus CCCXV., *Erysiphe Hedw.* Mycelium arachnoid. Appendages floccose, simple, or irregularly branched.

Erysiphe tortilis *Lk.*, on leaves of cornel.

——— communis *Schlecht*, on leaves common.

Genus CCCXVI., *Chœtonium Kze.* Perithecium thin, brittle, mouthless. Asci linear, containing dark, lemon-shaped sporidia.

Chœtonium elatum *Kze.*, Rudlow, on rotten straw.

Genus CCCXVII., *Ascotricha B.* Perithecium thin, free, mouthless, seated on loose, branched, conidiiferous threads. Asci linear, containing dark, elliptic sporidia.

Genus CCCXVIII., *Eurotium Lk.* Perithecia reticulated, vesicular, coloured, attached to mucedinous threads. Asci delicate.

Eurotium herbariorum *Lk.*, on sedges, Spye Park.

ORDER XXVIII. ONYGENEI.

Genus CCCXIX., *Onygena P.* Parasitic on animal substances. Peridium stipitate or sessile, paper-like, at length splitting. Asci delicate. Sporidia at length forming a dusty mass.

Onygena equina *P.*, Lucknam Grove, on dung.

Family VI. Physomycetes.

Threads free, or only slightly felted, bearing vesicles, which contain indefinite sporidia. Syzygites is a very curious genus, which conjugates, and forms sporangia as with some algæ. And endogone is a subterranean genus, whose fruit is not yet well understood.

Physomycetes.

- Antennarici. — Threads black, more or less felted, moniliform and equal in the same felt, bearing here and there irregular sporangia.
- Mucorini. — Threads free, bearing terminal or lateral sporangia.

ORDER XXIX. ANTENNARIEI.

Genus CCCXX., *Antennaria Lk.* Threads felted, black, articulated, often moniliform. Walls of sporangia mostly cellular. Spores chained together, immersed in gelatinous pulp.

Genus CCCXXI., *Zasnidium Fr.* Sporangium thin, carbonaceous, but brittle, growing on a septate, byssoid, equal mycelium. Mouth subumbilicate. Spores simple.

ORDER XXX. MUCORINI.

Genus CCCXXII., *Ascophora Tode.* Sporangia collapsing, and at length hanging down over the fructifying apices like a hood. Fruit sometimes of two kinds.

Ascophora mucedo *Tode*, on bread.

Genus CCCXXIII., *Mucor Mich.* Threads free. Sporangia at length bursting, but not dependent.

Mucor ramosus *Bull.*, on decaying Fungi, Bowood.

——— fusiger *Lk.*, on decaying agarics, ditto.

——— amethysteus *B.*, on rotten pears, Rudlow.

Genus CCCXXIV., *Hydrophora Tode.* Threads erect, tubular, sparingly articulate, equal above, terminated by a vesicle, which is at first watery and crystalline, then turbid, and at length indurated and persistent from the conglomeration of the spores.

Genus CCCXXV., *Endodromia B.* Vesicle very delicate, perforated by the stem, filled with delicate, branched, radiating threads, and globose spores, with a nucleus endowed with active motion.

Genus CCCXXVI., *Sporodinia Lk.* Stem dichotomously branched. Vesicles solitary, terminal, at length splitting horizontally. Columella large. Spores simple, growing on the columella.

Genus CCCXXVII., *Acrostalagmus Cd.* Flocci branched. Branches verticillate. Vesicles terminal, pierced by the threads, from the tips of which the spores are produced within the cells.

Genus CCCXXVIII., *Syzygites Ehb.* Threads branched above. Vesicles of separate branches conjugating, and forming a distinct sporangium.

Genus CCCXXIX., *Endogone Lk.* Hypogœous. Flocci collected into a globose, spongy mass. Vesicles globose, solitary, or collected in little fascicles at the ends of the branches.

GLOSSARY.

Acrogenous, attached to tips of threads or their branches.
Adnate, adhering firmly to the stem.
Adnexed, just reaching the stem.
Agglutinate, firmly glued to the matrix.
Amphigenous, when the hymenium is not confined to a particular surface.
Anastomosing, threads which become confluent, and form a network.
Appendiculate, attached in fragments to the borders of the pileus, sometimes applied to spores and sporidia which have terminal appendages.
Approximate, approaching but not quite reaching to.
Ascus a delicate sac, containing sporidia.
Capillitium, a term applied to the threads of puff-balls.
Carbonized, filled with dark matter, so as to look charred.
Ceratostomæ, perithecia, whose neck is much elongated.
Circinatæ, disposed in a circle.
Circumscriptæ, surrounded by a thin black crust; consequently when the stroma is broken off, a black ring is left on the matrix.
Clavæform, club-shaped.
Columella, a stem forming a central axis, from which threads take their origin.
Conidia, dust-like, secondary spores.
Connate, when two or more pilei become united.
Continuous, when one organ runs into another, without any decided interruption, synonymous with contiguus of Fries.
Cyst, a subglobose cell or cavity.
Decurrent, when the gills are very acute behind and run down the stem.
Denudate, naked, not immersed.
Determinate, having a distinct outline.
Dimidiate, semiorbicular, when relating to the gills of an agaric it intimates that they reach only half-way from the border of the pileus to the stem.
Disc, the surface of an hymenium, &c.
Distant, applied to gills, when far apart from each other; remote means that they do not reach the stem.
Echinate, beset with short thick bristles.
Echinulate, the same, but with more delicate bristles.
Effuse, spread out over the matrix.
Emarginate, when gills are suddenly scooped out before they reach the stem.
Emergent, springing from beneath the surface.
Endochrome, the matter contained in cells before the development of sporidia.
Endophlææ, growing in bark.
Excipulum, a little saucer or receptacle.

Fasciculate, growing in bundles.
Fibrillose, clothed with little loose fibres.
Fistulose, hollow, like a pipe.
Flocci, threads.
Furfuraceous, brawny.
Fusiform, spindle-shaped.
Grumous, clotted, as the contents of some cell.
Heterogeneous, when adjacent parts are different in structure.
Homogeneous, when they are similar.
Hyaline, transparent.
Hygrophanous, having a watry look when moist, more or less opaque when dry.
Hymenium, the fructifying surface.
Hypothecium, the part beneath the nucleus in sphœriacei, &c., especially when it is compact.
Immersæ, sunk in the matrix.
Incusæ, sunk as jewels in a die.
Indehiscent, not splitting, except by decay.
Infundibuliform, funnel-shaped.
Inserted, growing immediately from the matrix, like a graft from its stock.
Laccate, varnished.
Lacunose, pitted over.
Lophiostomæ, having the aperture crested.
Marginate, having a distinct border.
Matrix, anything on which a Fungus grows.
Moniliform, like a necklace, beaded.
Mucedinous, like a mould.
Mycelium, spawn, which may be filamentous, or vesicular.
Nucleus, the hymenium of perithecia, generally gelatinous.
Obtectæ, covered by the cuticle.
Obturatæ, bunged up, applied to certain sphœriœ.
Obvallatæ, walled up, similarly used.
Ostiolum, the mouth of a perithecium.
Papillate, covered with little elevations.
Patellœform, saucer-shaped.
Peridium, a general covering, as in a puff-ball.
Peronate, when a stem has a stocking-like coat.
Perithecia, the bottle-like, fruit bearing bodies in sphœriacei which may be naked, sunk in a stroma, or covered by a portion of the matrix.
Pertusæ, pierced at the apex of the perithecium by the separation of the ostiolum.
Pileus, the hat-shaped receptacle in mushrooms, &c.
Pruinose, frosted, or covered with bloom like a plum.
Pulvinate, cushion-shaped.
Rameales, growing on twigs.
Resupinate, spread over the matrix, and having the hymenium upwards, and not beneath, as in the mushroom.
Rhizomorphoid, like roots.
Rimose, cracked.

Ring, part of the veil, in agarics, &c., adhering to the stem and forming a ring, or collar, which sometimes becomes free afterwards.
Rivulose, marked with lines, like rivers in a map.
Rostellate, having an elongated neck, extending beyond the surface of the matrix.
Rostrate, having a long free neck.
Scrobiculate, marked with little pits.
Scutellœform, shield-like.
Septate, having partitions.
Sinuated, when gills are suddenly waved just before they reach the stem.
Sphœrostomæ, having a globular ostiolum.
Spicules, the points, to which the spores are attached.
Sporangia, large vesicular bodies, containing sporidia, or distinct organisms producing spores in the centre.
Spores, productive cells, borne freely on sporophores.
Sporidia, reproductive cells produced within asci.
Sporophores, cells surmounted by fertile spicules.
Squarrose, rough with projecting scales.
Strigose, rough with bundles of hairs.
Stroma, the substance in which perithecia are immersed in the compound sphœriacei.
Stuffed, when a stem is filled with a cottony web, or a spongy mass distinct from the walls.
Sub, used in composition to denote a slight degree of anything.
Subiculum, the filamentous mycelium of some sphœriæ.
Subulate, awl-shaped.
Sulcate, furrowed.
Trama, the substance intermediate between the hymenium in the gills of agarics, or pores of polyporus.
Tremelloid, shaking like a jelly.
Umbilicate, with a somewhat definite central depression.
Umbonate, with a central boss.
Uncinate, hooked.
Veil, a partial covering of the stem or margin of the pileus.
Ventricose, swelling out in the middle.
Vermiculate, worm-shaped.
Verrucœform, wart-shaped.
Versiform, variously shaped.
Vesicular, having a bladder like sporangium.
Villose, covered with down.
Virgate, streaked, or with wand-like branches.
Volva, a general wrapper, sometimes membraneous, sometimes gelatinous.

ABBREVIATIONS OF AUTHORS QUOTED.

A. and S.. Albertini and Schweinitz, Conspectus, 8vo.
Afz., Afzelius, in Vetensk Accid, Handlungen.
B., Berkeley, English Flora, vol. v., Taylor's Journal, &c.
B. and B., Berkeley and Broome, in Taylor's Journal.
Batsch., Elenchus, Fungorum, &c., 4to.
Batt., Battarra, Fungorum Historia, 4to.
Bloxam, History of Leicestershire, not published.
Bolt., Bolton, History of Funguses, 4to.
Bull., Bulliard, Herbier de la France, fol.
Casp., Caspary, über Zwei ùnd dreierlei früchte, &c., 8vo.
Cd., Corda, in various works.
Ces., Cesati, in Rabenhorst's exsiccata.
Chev., Chevallier, Flore de Paris, 8vo., &c.
Curt., Curtis, Flora Londinensis, fol.
D. C., De Candolle, Flore Francaise, 8vo.
D. Not., De Notaris, in Act. Acad. Taurins, &c.
Desm., Desmaziere, Plantes Cryptogames du Nord, 4to.
Dill., Dillenius, Catalogus, 8vo.
Ditm., Ditmar, in Sturm's Deutschland's Flora.
Ehb., Ehrenberg, Silvæ Mycologicæ, &c., 4to.
Ehrh., Ehrhart, exsiccata, fol.
Fr., Fries, in various works.
Grev., Greville, Scotch Crytoc. Flora, 8vo.
Hedw., Hedwig, Muscorum Frondosorum, &c., fol.
Hoffm., Hoffman, Vegetabilia Cryptoa., &c.
Holm., Holmskiold, Beata ruris otia Fungis, &c., fol.
Jacq., Jacquin, Miscellanea, &c., 4to,
Jung., Junghuhn, in the Linnæa.
Kl., Klotzsch, Observations on Hooker's Herbarium, MSS.
Krombh., Krombholz, Abbildungen, &c., fol.
Kze., Kunze, Mycologische Hefte, 8vo.
Lév., Léveillé, in Annales des Sciences, &c., 8vo.
Lk., Link, Observations, &c., 4to., &c.
Mich., Micheli, Nova plm., Genera, &c., fol.
Mont., Montagne, in various works.
Müll., Müller, in Flora Danica, fol.
Nees, Nees von Esenbeck, System, &c., 4to.
P., Persoon, in various works.
Rostk., Rostkovius, in Sturms Deutschland's Flora.

Roth, in Catalecta Botanica, 8vo.
Schœff., Schœffer, Fungorum Icones, &c., 4to.
Schrad., Schrader, Spicilegium, &c., 8vo.
Schum., Schumacher, Emuncratio, &c., 8vo.
Schwein., Schweinitz, Synopsis Fungorum, &c., 4to.
Scop., Scopoli, Flora Carniolica, 8vo.
Sec., Secretan, Mycographie Suisse, 8vo.
Sow., Sowerby, English Fungi, fol.
Tode, in Fungi Mecklenbergenses, 4to.
Tul., Tulasne, in various works.
Vitt., Vittadini, in various works.
Wahl., Wahlenberg, Flora Lapponica, 8vo.
Wall., Wallroth, Flora Cryptsa., &c., 12mo.
Wein., Weinman, Hymenomycetes, &c., 8vo.
Willd., Willdenow, Flora Berolinensis 8vo.
With., Withering, Botanical Arrangement.

Murder of Henry Long Esq.,

In A.D. 1594.

IN vol. I., p. 305 [1] of this Magazine there is an Account, printed from one of the Lansdowne Manuscripts in the British Museum, of the assassination at Corsham, by Sir Charles, and Sir Henry Danvers afterwards Earl of Danby, of Mr. Henry Long brother of Sir Walter Long of South Wraxhall, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Original documents cotemporary with a local event that happened nearly 300 years ago are so very rarely to be met with that we have much pleasure in presenting our readers with one relating to this subject, recently found among the Marquis of Bath's papers at Longleat. It is the more interesting as containing a few particulars of the outrage that are quite new.

An Order from the Lords of the Council to apprehend Sir Charles and Sir Henry Danvers.

"After our hartie comendations. Her Matie beinge Informed by the Ladie Barbara Longe * of a verie strange owtrage comitted by Sr Charles Danvers and Sr Henrie Danvers Knights, whoe beinge accompanied to the number of twentie and fower persons, and armed with pistolls and other weapons, did on Friday

[1] If the reader should turn to the vol. referred to (i. 305), he may correct with his pen a date unfortunately misprinted. In line eight, 1582 should be 1682.

* The mother of the gentleman murdered, then widow of Sir Robert Long.

last, enter into a howse in the Towne of Corsham at dynner time with force, and there did murther Captaine Henrie Longe with a pistoll, sittinge at the Table by Sr Walter Longe who also escaped very hardlie; and slewe also one Barnard a servant of the said Sr Walter's waytinge on the Table, and after presentlie toke their horses, and so went their waies thorowe Chipnam; Because this manner of attempt is very strange, and of dangerous example, Wee are in her Maties name to require you to doe yor best endevor by all meanes, to apprehend so manie of those that were in this Ryottus action as you maie by anie meanes have a notyce of, and to cause them to be comytted and straightlie examined concernynge the plott and purpose of this fowle attempt and murther. Where yt ys farther informed that a foot-boye of Mr. Henrie Bainton was expresslie sent to see in what sort they were sett at the Table and to bringe worde to the s^d^ Sr Charles and his companie of the same, wch doth argue a pretended purpose in them to comytt that fowle attempt, wee praie you to cause the same Boy to be also apprehended and to be comytted and examined by whome he was sent and to what Intent. And because Her Matie ys deserous to be Informed of the Truth of so outragious a fact, Wee require you, Mr. Anthonie Mildmaie, Mr. Snell, and the rest of the Justices and Gentlemen that were at the Table or in the howse at that Tyme when this attempt was made, to certyfie unto us particularly the Truth of the manner of the same; as you will avowe yt uppon your credytts. And so wee bidd you hartelie farewell. From the Court at Nonesoche the 7th of October 1594.

Yo^r^ verie lovinge frends

Jo: PUCKERING.*
HUNSDON.† J. WOLLEY.

(Address)

"To our verie lovinge freindes the High Sheryfe and
the rest of the Justices of Peace in the Countie of Wiltes,
And to everie of them.

The Littlecote Tradition.

SOME time ago an animated discussion appeared in the pages of this Magazine, arising out of an attempt on the part of the late Mr. C. E. Long to clear the character of "Wild Darell" from the stigma so long affixed to it, by the tradition of which John Aubrey in 1660 was—not the inventor—but only the first preserver. For this purpose Mr. C. E. Long wrote three papers; viz, in vol. iv., p. 209, vol. vi., p. 201, and ditto 389. He was answered by Mr. Poulett Scrope, under the title of "A Credulous Archæologist," in vol. vii., p. 45. Mr. Long replied in vii., 212.

* Sir John Puckering, Secretary of State.

† Henry Carey, Baron Hunsdon, first cousin (maternally) to Queen Elizabeth.

The, nearly cotemporary, Deposition of Mrs. Barnes (printed vi., 392) confirmed Aubrey's tradition in the most remarkable way, but it lacked exact dates and names. An original letter written at the very time by Sir Henry Knyvett of Charlton to Sir John Thynne has just now been discovered by myself among the Marquis of Bath's Papers at Longleat, which leaves very little to be desired. Supplying, as it does, no less than three most important particulars, viz., the year, the name of the female whose child was believed to have been destroyed, and the name of the gentleman accused, this letter will now go very far to establish, almost beyond the possibility of doubt, that the LITTLECOTE TRADITION, in its main and material point, is founded on FACT.

SIR HENRY KNYVETT TO SIR JOHN THYNNE.

"Syr, I beseech you lett me crave so much favor of you, as to procure your Servant * Mr. Bonham moste effectually to examin his sister tochinge her usage att Willm. Dorrell's, the berth of her children, howe many they were, and what becam of them. She shall have no cawse off feare trulie to confes the uttermost; for I will defend her from all perill howe so ever the case fall owte. The brute" (bruit, or report) "of the murder of one of them increaseth fowlely, and theare falleth owte such other heyghnous matter against him, as will toch him to the quick.——— From Charlton this ij^th^ of January 1578.

Your loving friend

(Address) "To the right worshipful and my very lovinge friend Sr John Thynne Knyght Geve this." H. KNYVETT."

The rest of the letter, which is very short, refers to another matter wholly foreign to the subject.

J. E. JACKSON.

* The word "servant" was often used at this period to signify not a menial or domestic servant, but an official or agent.

Charles, Lord Stourton, and the Murder of the Hartgills.

By the Rev. Canon Jackson, M.A., F.S.A.

THE Narrative of the Murder of William and John Hartgill (father and son) of Kilmington in the County of Somerset, by Charles Lord Stourton of Stourton, co. Wilts, in the year 1557, has been printed several times. It is to be found in Strype's Memorials of Queen Mary's reign,[1] Sir R. C. Hoare's Modern Wiltshire,[2] Phelps's History of co. Somerset,[3] and Bayley's History of the Tower of London.[4] In all these the narrative is one and the same, being that of Strype who copied it from one of Fox's Manuscripts, substituting the language of his own day (1721) for that of the document itself. Fox's manuscript (or perhaps an ancient copy of it in two parts) composed soon after the Murder, is in the Library of the British Museum. It has been now disinterred, and is once more presented to the public, (but this time in the original phraseology,) in consequence of the recent discovery of several papers coeval with, and illustrative of the story. These consist of:—

1. Some Original Letters written both by Lord Stourton and W. Hartgill, and by others their neighbours and partisans. These letters have been found among the Marquis of Bath's family documents at Longleat, and are now published by his Lordship's kind permission. Being chiefly written before the murder they of course do not mention it, but they contain many curious particulars of the

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[1] Edit: 1721, vol. iii., p. 367. Edit: Oxford 8vo., 1822, vol. iii., part 1, p. 592.

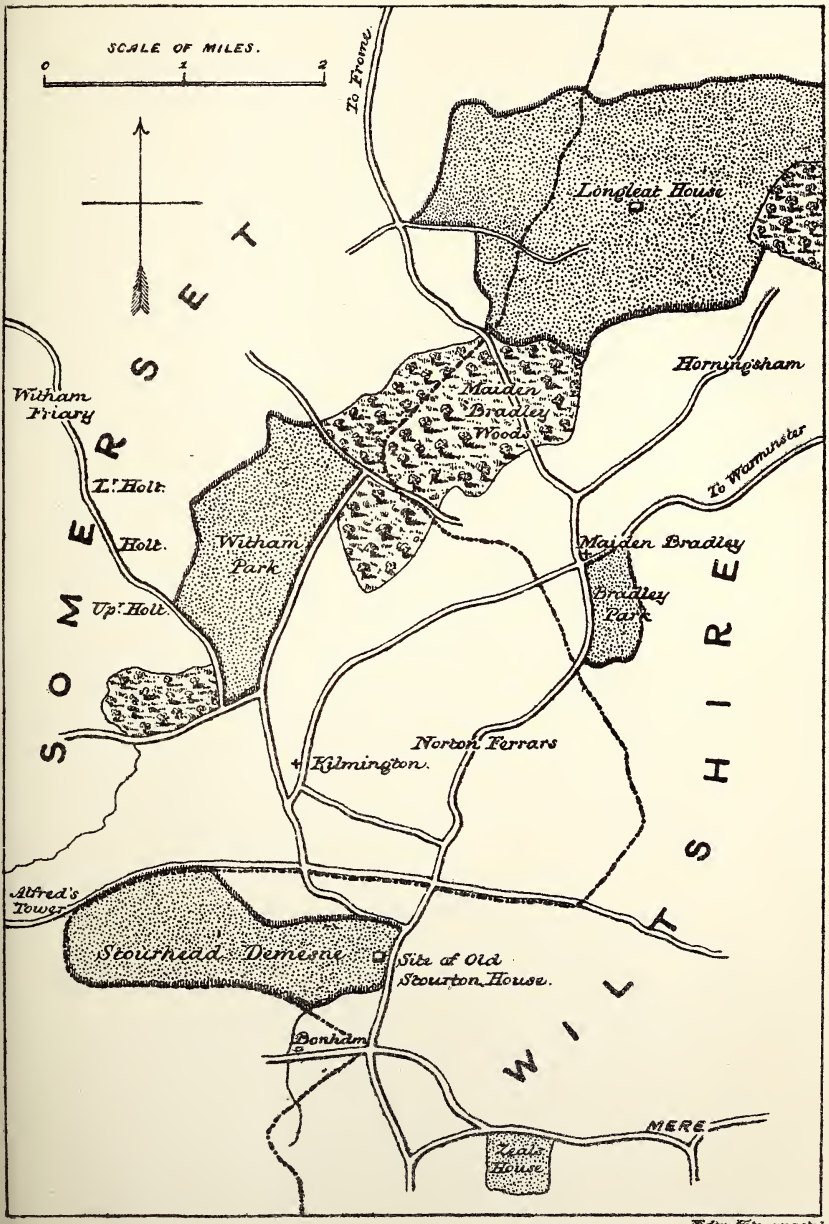
[2] History of Mere, p. 252. [3] Vol. i., part 2, p. 178.

[4] P. 454. There is also a summary of the story at p. 87 in the Gentleman's Magazine for the year 1790, in which year the public attention was called to the case of the murder of his steward by Lawrence, Earl Ferrers.

THE SOUTH PROSPECT OF OLD STOURTON HOUSE

Fac-simile of a rude sketch made by John Aubrey, A.D. 1674.

Edw. Fyle, anastat.



Edw. Kite, anastat

PLAN OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF STOURTON & KILMINGTON.

previous conduct of the parties towards one another, and, so far, help to throw considerable light upon the whole transaction.

2. Official Papers from the Public Record and State Paper Offices. These supply undeniable evidence of the truth of the facts in the Narrative, and many other circumstances of the case hitherto unknown.[1]

A short general account of the places and persons to be referred to may be useful to make the Narrative more intelligible.

On the borders of Somerset and Wilts lie the two contiguous parishes of Kilmington and Stourton, Kilmington being in the former, Stourton in the latter county. The history of Kilmington will be introduced presently. The manor of Stourton used anciently to be held under that of Castle Cary in co. Somerset, and in the 14th century it was so held by the Fitz Payne family from whom it was called Stourton Fitz Payne. The family who adopted their name from the place were resident there in remote times, but they do not appear to have become owners of the manor until about the reign of Henry VI. In the sixth year of that reign a License was granted to John de Stourton to enclose a park of 1000 acres. A curious large house was erected, a representation of which (made up from the annexed rude outline by John Aubrey) is given in the Wilts Arch. Mag., vol. i., p. 194. It stood a little in front of the present mansion of Stourhead. By fortunate marriages, first with the heiress of Moigne, and afterwards with the heiress of Chidiock, the Stourtons obtained large possessions in Gloucestershire, Wilts, Somerset and Dorset.

John Stourton the first Baron died in 1462 (2 Edw. IV.) His great grandson William, 6th Baron Stourton married Elizabeth[2] daughter of Edmund Dudley, and sister of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, by whom he had Charles his eldest son and heir

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[1] For assistance in searching for these, and in unravelling some of the difficulties attending them, the writer is indebted to Mr. Clarence Hopper, of No. 1, Albert Place, Denmark Road, Camberwell.

[2] In Sir R. C. Hoare's pedigree (Mere p. 48) she is said to have been, when William Lord Stourton married her, the widow of his younger brother Peter, but Edmondson's pedigree does not notice this irregularity.

(the subject of this Memoir), five other sons, and two daughters, Ursula who married Edward Lord Clinton, and Dorothy who married Sir Richard Brent. William Lord Stourton is stated in some pedigrees (as in Sir R. C. Hoare's) but not in Edmondson's and others, to have married a second wife, Mistress Agnes Ryce, daughter of the Countess of Bridgewater. Who these ladies were and whether this was a real marriage or not, we shall have occasion to consider at some length by and by.

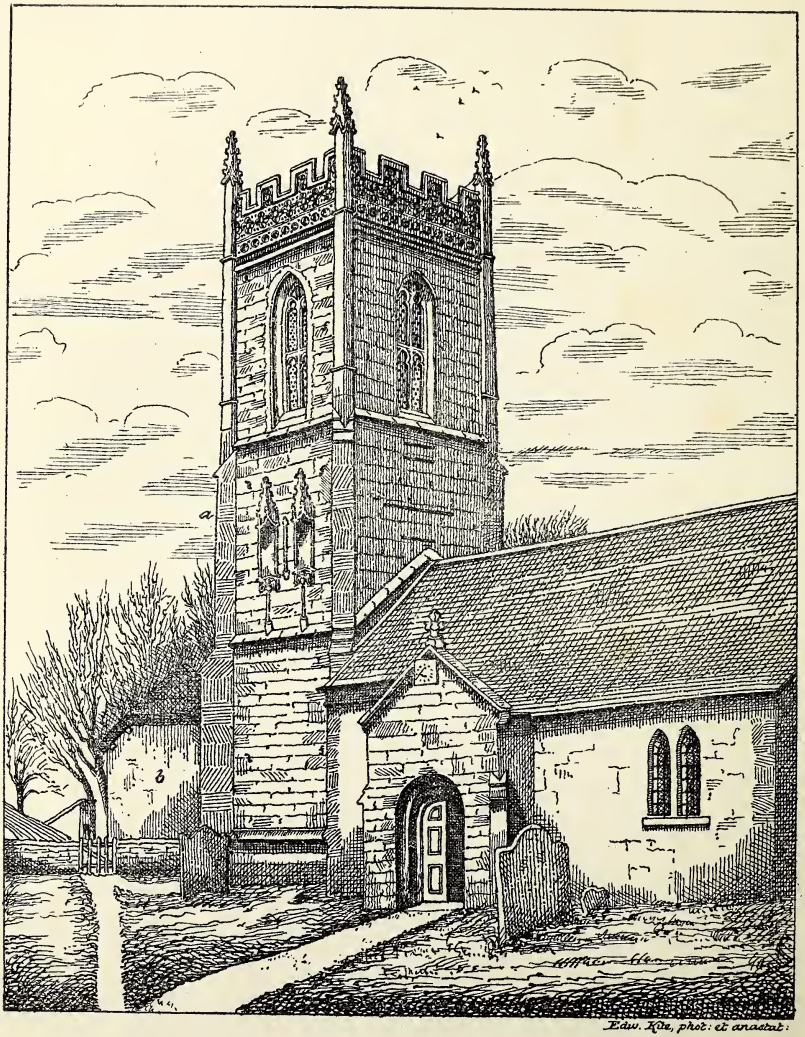
About the year 1541 William Lord Stourton purchased of Walter Devereux Lord Ferrers all his lands in the co. of Somerset, and among them Norton Ferrers in the parish of Kilmington which adjoins the parish of Stourton. The Letter in which, with an old-fashioned courtesy, Lord Ferrers takes leave of his family property forms Document No. 17.

William Lord Stourton being much employed towards the end of his life in Henry the 8th's Expedition to France, left his estates under the sole management of William Hartgill; and died about the month of October 1548.

Charles Lord Stourton 7th Baron, his eldest son and heir by Elizabeth Dudley, married Anne daughter of Edward Stanley 3rd Earl of Derby.

For the convenience of reference, a Tabular Pedigree is annexed shewing a few generations of the Stourton Family and their connexion with various persons whose names will occur in the course of this memoir.

The other *dramatis personæ* were the Hartgills. This name, in the person of Edward Hartgill, appears once in the list of Sheriffs for co. Somerset A.D. 1479: and twice in that for Wilts, A.D. 1477 and 1484. He was also M.P. for New Sarum: and is presumed to have been ancestor of the Hartgills of Kilmington, William the father and John his son, to whom the present story refers. William was a landed proprietor and is described as Esquire. Of his antecedent history nothing is known, except that (as above-mentioned) he acted for many years as Steward of the estates of William Lord Stourton. The house in which he is said to have lived at Kilmington, N.W. of the Church, was taken down long ago. There are



Edw. Kite, phot: et anastat:

KILMINGTON CHURCH, CO: SOMERSET.

a. The Tower chamber in which the Hartgills were confined.
b. The Church-house mentioned in the Narrative of the Murder.

URTON.

Margaret.

th Ryce=Lady Catharine Howard,=2. Henry Daubeney,
e ap | 7th child of Thomas, 2nd | cr. Earl of Bridge-
K.G. of | Duke of Norfolk, | water, 1538 Died
tle, co. | " Countess of Bridge- | 1548, S.P.
ke. | water."

Mary,
S.P.

Dorothy. 1. Richard Gore= Mary =2. George Wroughton
of Alderton, Esq. | Stourton, | Esq., died 29th Jan.,
(She was his 2nd | bur. at | 1627, bur. at Little
wife, mar. 1565.) | Alderton, | Somerford, Wilts.
Died 18 Nov., | 4 Jan.,
1583. | 1620.

From whom their
great-grandson,
Thomas Gore,
Esq.

Edw. Kite, phot: et anastat:

KILMINGTON CHURCH, CO: SOMERSET.

a. The Tower chamber in which the Hartgills were confined.
b. The Church-house mentioned in the Narrative of the Murder.

EXTRACT FROM THE PEDIGREE OF STOURTON.

Sir William Stourton, mar. 1398, d. 1413, bur. at Witham, co. Som. = Elizabeth, dau. and coh. of Sir John Moyne of Maddington, Wilts, and Estanes (Easton), Essex.

John, son and heir, created 1st Baron Stourton, 13 May, 1448, Sher. of Wilts 1434-1437, Treasurer of the Household. Died 1462. = Margery, dau. of Sir John Wadham of Merefield, co. Somerset.

Sir William Carent of Tomber, co. Som. = Margaret.

William, son and heir, 2nd Baron Stourton, died 18th Feb., 1478, bur. at Mere. = Margaret, dau. and coh. of Sir John Chidiock of Chidiock, co. Dorset, Kt.

John, son and heir 3rd Baron Stourton, died 1484, bur. at Mere, S.P. = Catharine, dau. of Sir Maurice Berkeley of Beverston, co. Gloucester.

William, bro. and heir, 4th Baron Stourton, died 1522, S.P. = Thomasine, dau. of Sir Walter Wrottesley, Kt.

Edward, bro. and heir, 5th Baron Stourton, died 13 Dec., 1535, bur. at Stourton. = Agnes, dau. of John Fauntleroy of Marsh, co. Dorset.

1. Sir Griffith Rice or Rhese ap Thomas, K.G. of Carew Castle, co. Pembroke. = Lady Catharine Howard, 7th child of Thomas, 2nd Duke of Norfolk, "Countess of Bridgewater." =2. Henry Daubeney, cr. Earl of Bridgewater, 1538 Died 1548, S.P.

Elizabeth, dan. of Edmund Dudley, Esq., and sister of John, Duke of Northumberland, remarr. Edward Ludlow. = William, son and heir, 6th Baron Stourton, died *c.* October, 1548. Deputy Gen. of Newhaven and the Marches of the same.

Agnes Rice, claimed to have been mar. at Stourton Chapel, 6th Jan., 1545-6, d. Aug. 19th, 1574, bur. in Baynton Aisle, Bromham Church. =2. Sir Edw. Baynton of Rowdon, near Chippenham, M.P. for Wilts. Bro.-in-law of Sir James Stumpe.

13 children, three only survived. Henry, Anne and Elizabeth, M.I.

Roger, 2nd son = Birch, S.P.

Christopher, 3rd son, of Little Langford, Wilts. = Elizabeth Dennis of Kent.

Peter, 4th son, said by some to have been 1st husb. of Eliz. Dudley, S.P.

Mary, S.P.

CHARLES, son and heir, 7th BARON STOURTON. Attainted and exec. at Salisbury, 6 March, 1557. = Anne, dau. of Edw. Stanley, 3rd E. of Derby. Remar. Sir John Arundel of Lanherne.

2. Andrew, S.P.

3. Arthur, M.P. for Westminster, 1555. = Anne McWilliams.

4. William, mar. Thomasine Fitz-James.

5. George, 6. Giles, 7. Francis.

Edward, bro. and heir, 9th Baron Stourton. = Frances Tresham.

John, son and heir, 8th Baron Stourton, 4 years and 2 months old at his father's death. Restored in blood and Estates by A. of P. 1575, died 1587, bur. at Stourton, S.P. = Frances, dau. of William Brooke, Lord Cobham.

Edward, bro. and heir, 9th Baron Stourton.

Edward Clinton, Earl of Lincoln. = Ursula.

Sir Richard Brent, Kt. = Dorothy.

1. Richard Gore of Alderton, Esq. (She was his 2nd wife, mar. 1565.) Died 18 Nov., 1583. = Mary Stourton, bur. at Alderton, 4 Jan., 1620. =2. George Wroughton Esq., died 29th Jan., 1627, bur. at Little Somerford, Wilts.

From whom their great-grandson, Thomas Gore, Esq.

a

b.

two tombs in the church-yard, and one small mural tablet in the church, but all to later members of the family. In the Register are forty entries of his legitimate descendants, the last of whom, a female, was baptized in 1760.

NARRATIVE OF THE MURDER.[1]

"Leaff No. 36. *The murder of Mr. Hartgil committed by Charles Lord Stourton.*

In the tyme of kynge Edward the VIth William Lord Stourton havynge charge of one of the kynges peces[2] nygh Bullen dyed, shortly after whose death Charles Lord Stourton sonne and heyre of the sayd Lord William Stourton came to Kylmyngton in the countye of Somerset to th'ouse of one William Hartgyll Esquyer where Dame Elizabeth late wyff to the sayd Lord William and mother to the sayd Lord Charles Stourton did sogorn, and then and there was ernestly in hand with the sayd William Hartgyll to be a meane unto the sayd Dame Elizabeth that she shuld enter in to band to hym the sayd Lord Charles in a great some of money, that she shuld never marrye, whiche the sayd William Hartgyll refused to do onlesse the sayd Lord Charles Stourton woold assign owt some good yerely portion for hys sayd mother to lyve uppon. Discoursynge of thys matter the sayd Lord Charles Stourton fell utterly owt with the sayd William Hartgyll, and shortly after uppon a Wytsonday in the mornynge the sayd Lord Charles Stourton came to Kylmyngton churche with a great many men with bowes and gunnes, and when he came almost to the churche dore, John Hartgyll sonne of the sayd William Hartgyll, being a tall lusty gentleman, beyng told of the sayd Lord Stourtons cummynge, went owt of the churche and drew his swerd and ranne to hys fathers house adjonynge fast to the churche yard syde. Diverse arrowes were

[1] From Harl. MS. 590, ff. 76, 76*b*.

[2] In Sir R. C. Hoare's Modern Wilts this is wrongly printed, "having *charged one* of the King's pieces," leading the reader to suppose that William Lord Stourton's death was caused by the bursting of a piece of ordnance. "Peece" (from the Spanish) is an obsolete word used by Spenser and Speed for a *Castle* or other fortified building. See Todd's Johnson's Dictionary.

shott at hym in hys passynge but he was not hurt. Hys father the sayd William Hartgyll and hys wyff beynge old folkes were dryven to go upp in to the towre of the churche with towe or thre of theyr servauntes for save gard of theyr lyves. When the sayd John Hartgill was come in to hys fathers house, he toke his longe bowe and arrowes and bent a crosse bowe and charged a gonne and caused a woman to carry the crosse bowe and gonne after hym, and hymself with hys longe bowe came foorth and drave awey the sayd Lord Charles and all his men from the house and from aboute the churche. So that not one of all the cumpany taryed, savynge half a score that were entred in to the churche, emongist whome one was hurt with hayle shott in the shulder by the sayd John Hartgill. And when all that were abroed were fledd, the sayd John Hartgyll axed hys father what he shuld do? Unto whom hys father answered and sayd "Take your horsse and ryde upp to the Court and tell the honorable Councell how I am used." Wheruppon when the sayd John Hartgyll hadd taken order to provyde meat and dryncke to be pulled upp in to the Towre of the churche to releve them that were there, he rode awey, and the Mundaye toward evenynge he told the honorable Councell how hys father was delt withall: wheruppon they send downe Sir Thomas Speake, Knyght, then high Sheryff of Somerset not only to delyver the sayd captyves but also to brynge up with hym the sayd Lord Charles Stourton: whom, when he came, the sayd honorable Councell commytted to the Flete where he taryed not longe. Yt ys to be remembred that assone as John Hartgyll was rydden toward London to th'onorable Councell, the Lord Stourton's men retorned to the churche of Kylmyngton, and aboute Hartgills house agayn, and so contynued untyll the commynge down of the sayd Sheryff whiche was the Weddensday in the Wytson weke, durynge all whiche tyme the sayd William Hartgill and hys men were kept in the churche Towre. Mary, the sayd Hartgylles wyff, was permytted to go whome the Wytsondaye toward nyght. In thys meane tyme the sayd Lord Stourton's men went to a pasture of the sayd Hartgilles and there toke upp hys own rydinge geldynge, beynge then well woorth eight poundes, and caryed hym to Stourton parke pale and there shott hym with a

crosse bowe and kylled the geldynge, noysynge abroed that the sayd William Hartgill hadd that nyght bene huntynge in the sayd parke uppon the geldynge. Thus the sayd Lord Stourton contynued his mallice styll durynge all kynge Edwarde's regn and with violence and force toke from the sayd William Hartgyll all the corn and catall that he could any way come bye whiche were the sayd Hartgilles. When kynge Edward was dedd the sayd William Hartgill and John hys sonne made humble sute to Quene Marye hyr honorable Councell for some redresse, hyr majestie lyinge then att Basynge in Hamshyre; whiche sayd Councell called the sayd Lord Stourton and the sayd William Hartgyll before them and there the sayd Lord Stourton promysed that yf the sayd William Hartgill and hys sonne woolde come whome to hys house and desyre his good will they shuld not only have yt but also shuld be restored to theyr gooddes and catalles that he hadd of theyrs. Wheruppon they, trustynge hys faythfull promesse made before suche a presence, toke one John Dackombe Esquyer with them to be a wytnesse of theyr submyssion: and when they came nygh Stourton house, in a lane, half a dussen of the Lord Stourton's men russhed foorth and lettynge Mr. Dackombe and the sayd William Hartgyll passe them, stept before the sayd John Hartgyll, and when he torned hys horsse to have rydden awey whomeward agayn syx of the sayd Lords men were there with wepons to staye hym, and so beynge besett boathe before and behynd they strake at hym, and before he could drawe hys swerd and gett from hys horsse, they hadd woonded hym in thre or foure places: then he gat his backe to a hedge and there defended hymself as well as he could, albeit they woounded hym in the hedd, the hand, the body and the legges, and left hym for dedd. Neverthelesse when he had lyne so almost half an houre he came to hymself agayne, and by the helpe of a coke of the sayd Lord Stourton's who toke pytye uppon hym, he got uppon hys horsse and so rode to th'ouse of one Rychard Mumpesson of Mayden Bradley gent for he[lp]." [*Here this Manuscript, being only a fragment, abruptly terminates*].

"This" (says Strype) "at last became a Star-Chamber business; and, in fine, the matter appear'd so heinously base on the said Lord

Stourton's side, that he was fined in a certain sum to be paid to the Hartgills, and was imprisoned in the Fleet." The sum that he was ordered to pay for damages was £368 6s. 8d. (See Document No. 57). He obtained his liberty under a Recognizance for £2000 to re-appear: but this judgment against him was never forgiven and was certainly the immediate cause of Hartgill's death.

The sequel of the story is taken (as already mentioned) from a different fragment of MS. (Lansdowne, No. 3, Art. 49.)

TH'ORDER OF MY LORD STOURTON'S PROCEEDINGS WITH THE TWO HERTGILLES.[1]

"Being lycenced a lytle before Christmas for certeyn consideracons to repayre into his countrey uppon bandes of two thousand pounds to render him self prisonner agayne in the Fleet the first daye of the tearme, promising faythfully in the meane time to paye unto the Hertgilles such somes of monney as he was condemned to paye them, he devised within thre or iiij dayes after his arryvall at his howse of Sturtone Caundel[2] to send certain parsonages to the said Hertgilles to declare unto them that he was readye to paye unto them the said somes of monney according as yt was ordered in the Starre chambre, and to commune with them also for a further ending and quyeting of all matters between them: for the which purpose he desyred a place and tyme to bee appointed of meeting togithers. The two Hertgilles receyvd this errand with much contentacion; and albeit theie stoode in some feare that my Lord ment not all together as he had caused to be declared unto them, and therfore stood in much dought to adventure themselves, yet were they in th'end content to meete with him at Kylmingtone church the Monedaye after Twelfth Daye. At which Mondaye, being the xith of Januarye, abought x of the clock the saide Lorde Sturtone came to Kylmingtone accompanyed with xv or xvj of his

[1] On the back: "*Articuli contrà Dominum Sturton.*" In another hand, "*Declaracion of the whole manner of the murdering of the two Hertgills.*"

[2] Stourton Caundel is in Dorsetshire: but at no great distance from Stourton House in Wilts.

own servantes and sondry of his tenantes and some Gentelmen and Justices to the nombre of lx parsons in all.

The Hertgilles attending at the place appointed, seing my Lorde Sturtone to bee at hand and to come with so greate a companye, beganne veary moch to dreade.

My Lorde came not to the church but went to the church-house,[1] being xl passes distaunt from the church yarde: from thens he sent worde to the Hertgilles, who yet were in the church, that the church was no place to talke of worldelye matters and therfore he thought the church-howse to be a fitter place.

The Hertgilles came owt of the church, and being within xx passes of my Lorde, olde Hertgill after dew salutacion said "My Lorde, I see manny ennemyes of myne abought your Lordship, and therfore I ame very moch afrayed to come anny nere." My Lorde assured him first him self, and after him Sir James Fitz James, Chaffyn and others boldened him so moch as they coulde, saying they durst bee bounde in all they hadd theie should have no bodely hurte. Uppon this comforte he approched to my Lorde's parson, and then my Lorde tolde him he was come to paye them monney which he had brought with him and wolde have had them to goo into the church-house to receyve yt. But the Hertgilles, fearing yll to be ment unto them, refused to entre into anny couvered place, the church excepted.

Wheruppon some being present thought good that a table shoulde bee sett uppon the open grene, which was done accordingly. My Lorde layed theruppon a cappecase[2] and a pursse, as though he had intended to make payment: and calling nere unto him the saide two Hertgilles saied unto them that the Councel had ordered him to paye unto them a certayne some of monney which they should have every penney. "Mary, he wolde first know them to be *Trew*

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[1] The Church-house is still standing; a few yards N.W. of the church. It has windows of ecclesiastical pattern. It may be mentioned that anciently the "Church-house" in a parish was that in which Annual Meetings or "Ales" were held, to raise money for church purposes. The room in the Tower of Kilmington Church is merely a small belfry, some ten feet square.

[2] Cap-case, a kind of small portmanteau.

menne." This was the watche-worde that he gave to his menne as he came by the waye thitherwarde, and therewith he layed handes on them boothe saying "I arrest yowe of fellonye." And therewith his men which to the nombre of x or xij stoode purposely rounde aboughte him, layed hold on them and with all crewelnes straight tooke them boothe and by vyolence thruste and drew them into the church-howse, where with his owne handes he tooke from them their pursses, of the which one of them fallinge from him was by a servaunt of his named Upham taken upp and afterwarde brought by him to Sturtone where my Lorde receyved yt, and fynding a turquoyse therin he made therof a present unto my Ladye.

And then the saide Lorde Sturtone having in a redynes two blew bandes of incle[1] which that morning he had purposely brought with him from Sturtone, delivered them to his men to bynde the saide Hertgilles withall in the saide church-howse, and whilest they were a bynding he gave the saide Upham, being one of his men, two greate blowes becawse he went abowght to pynion them and did not tye their handes behinde them. And to the yonger of the Hertgilles being bounde he gave a greate blowe in the face for that he said the crueltye shewed unto them was to moch.

And coming owte of the howse with his naked sworde, fynding at the dore the saide yonge Hertgille's wyef, first spurned at her and kycked so at her as with his spurres he rent a greate pece of one of her hosen from her legge, and fynally he gave her with his saide sworde soch a strooke betwen the necke and the hedd as she fell therwith to the grounde as deade, so as in three howres the companye had moch a doo to kepe lyfe in her: of the which strooke she kepeth yet her bedd and lyeth in soch case as Godd knoweth what wilbe coom of her.

From thens being fast bounde he cawsed them to bee convayed to the Parsonnage of Kylmingtone where all that daye they wer kept, their armes being bounde behind them, withowte meate or drincke; in the which place, hadd he not bene otherwise perswaded by one of his men, they hadd that night have bene murdered.

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[1] Inkle: a kind of coarse tape, or web.

Abought one or ij a clock in the morning ("i.e. of Tuesday the 12th Jan.") they were from thens convayed to a howse of his called Bonham[1] two myles of, within a quarter of a myle of Sturtone where my Lorde him self laye, where arryving the Tuesdaye abought iij of the clocke in the morning they were layed fast bounde in two severall places withowte meate or drincke, fyar, or anny thing to lye uppon. Abought iiij of the clocke in the afternoone my Lorde sent unto them two Justices of the peace to examyne them, whome he made beleve he wolde the next morning send them to the gaoule; and to that ende he cawsed the said Justices to put their handes to a *mittimus*. Assone as the Justices came unto the howse, fynding them bounde, they caused them to bee loosed, and advised my Lorde's men that kept them to suffer them so to contynue, saying that ther was no dought of th'escaping of them.

But assone as the saide Justices were departed, my Lorde sent first Saunder [Alexander] More and then Franck and fynally Farre, being all three his men, to cawse them to be bounde agayne and to bee layed in severall places, comaunding further all the kepers to come awaye saving soch as he had especially appointed for the murder which ensued, whome he had before procured to doo th'acte, promising that they shoulde doo no more then he him selfe would doo. Abought x of the clocke[2] my Lorde sent to Bonham William Farre, Roger Gough, John Welshman and Macute Jacob, comaunding them to fetche the saide Hertgilles to the place appointed, uppon warninge them that in case by the waye the saide Hertgilles uppon suspicion what was ment to them shoulde make anny noyse, to rydde them of their lyves before the comyng of them to the saide place. The four above named, fynding at

[1] Bonham is the name of a Farm, in the parish of Stourton, south of the village. It anciently belonged to a family of that name, but was bought by the Lords Stourton, one of whom temp. Henry VIII., built a house in a grove on the hill. (Leland.) A Roman Catholic Chapel still the property of Lord Stourton adjoins the farm. (Hoare, Mere 89.) It appears from the accounts of Charles Lord Stourton's estate in 1549 that Nicholas Bonham, Esq., was then the owner, but that Lord Stourton held it on a lease for years.

[2] At night. See the Latin Bill of Indictment, (No. 60).

Bonham Henry Symes who was appointed to watche the howse, went into the same and brought ought the two Hertgilles and bringing them to a close joyning hard to Sturtone[1] they were knocked in the heades[2] with two clubbes, wherwith, kneling on their knees and their handes fast bounde behinde them, being at one strooke felled, they receyved afterward sondry strookes till the murderers thought they had bene starck dedde, My Lorde in the meane seasone standing at the gallery dore which was not a good coyte's cast from the place of execucion. This doon they wrapped them in their owne gownes and so caryed the bodyes among them through a gardeyn into my Lorde's gallerye, at the dore wherof they founde my Lorde according as he had promysed, and from thens into a lytle place in th'ende therof, my saide Lorde bearing the candle before them, where he that caryed olde Hertgill, missing a plancke, fell downe into a hole and the body with him.

This place was hard by my Lorde's chamber, to the which place being the bodies brought *(sic)* not full dedd, they groned very sore, specially th'eldre Hertgil, which hering, William Farre, one of the murderers, swearing "By Godde's bloude they wer not yet dedd," and Henry Symes saying "It were a good deede to rydde them owte of their paynes," and my Lorde him self bidding their throotes to bee cutte leaste a French preeste[3] lyeng nere to the place might here, the said Farre tooke owte his knyfe and cutt bothe their throotes, my Lorde standing by with the candel in his hande. And one of the murderers then sayed "Ah my Lorde! this is a pytiouse sight: hadde I thought that I now thincke, before the thing was doon, your hole land could not have woon me to consent to soch an acte." My Lorde answered "What, fainte

[1] The close was then called "*The Worth*, near the garden of the capital mansion of the said Lord Stourton," (No. 60.)

[2] John Hartgill, the son, was the first knocked down by Wm. Farre *alias* Cutter. William Hartgill was then felled by Henry Symes, (No. 60.) It may be here stated that in Burke's Peerage, (Edit. 1846) under "Stourton," a great mistake is made, in saying that Charles, Lord Stourton "was aided *by his sons*" in this murder. His eldest son John was at the time just four years old.

[3] Probably the Priest of a private chapel of the Stourtons formerly at Stourton House.

harted knave! ys yt anny more then the rydding of two knaves that lyving were trooblesome bothe to Goddes lawe[1] and man's? There is no more accoumpt to bee made of them then the kylling of ij sheepe."

Then were the bodyes tombled downe into a dongeon, my Lord walking bye upp and downe: and after Harry Simes and Roger Gough wer convayed downe by cordes (for ther were no staires therunto), who digged a pytt for them and there buryed them bothe together, my Lorde oftentymes in the meane tyme calling unto them from above to "Make speede, for that the night went awaye."

The bodyes have sythen (since) bene digged uppe by Sir Anthonye Hungerforde sent purposely to the place for that purpose: and wer found in the self same apparayle that they wer taken in, berryed very depe, couvered first with earthe and then with two coursses of thicke paving, and fynally with chippes and shavinges of tymbre above the quantetye of ij cartte loodes.

In th'examynacon of these matters yt is fallen owte that he cawsed not long sythen a barne of one Thomas Chaffyn to bee sett on fyer by iij of his servantes; against which Chaffyn, for that he sayed yt was not doon withowte the knowledge of the saide Lorde or of some of his servauntes, Lord Sturtone tooke an action uppon his case and recouvred of him a hundred pounds domage, for the payment wherof he tooke owte of Chaffyn's pastures by force twelve hundred sheepe with the woll uppon their backes, all the oxen, kyne, horsses and mares that he coulde fynde in the saide pastures.

From one Willoughbye he cawsed to bee taken for his pleasure a hole teme of oxen wherof ij wer founde at this present a fatting in the stall in his howse. Hys other routs, ryottes, robberyes and murdres yt wer to long to wright."

"And thus" (adds Strype) "ends this relation, which was writ soon after this bloody act was done upon the Hartgills, from whence I transcribed it."

The above Narrative was evidently written, immediately after the murder, (because it mentions that the younger Hartgill's wife

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[1] Misprinted "love" in Sir R. C. Hoare.

was still keeping her bed from the blow she had received from Lord Stourton's sword) and probably before Lord Stourton's execution: otherwise the writer of it (no friend to his Lordship), though unwilling to detail all the rest of the alleged "routs, ryottes, robberies and murders," would surely have resumed his pen, before the manuscript left his hands, to add the result of them.

It would seem that upon the very Monday, the 11th of January, when Lord Stourton met the Hartgills at Kilmington Church, and "arrested them of felony," some quick application must have been made by their friends to the Council: for the Council Books contain the following Orders dated the 14th January.

(No. 1.) At Grenewich the xiiijth day of January An^{o} 1556-7.

A Letter to the Lord Sturton to cause the bodyes of William Hartegill and John Hartegill (whome the Lordes of the Councill are infourmed he hath attached for felonye and keepeth them in his owne custodie) to be delivered to the Sherife of Somersetsheire to be used accordyng to justice, and to repaire hether himself to morowe to make declaracons of his doinges in this behalfe.

(No. 2.) A letter to the sherife of Somersetsheire to take the Bodies of William Hartegill and John Hartegill (whom the Lord Sturton hath attached of fellonie) into his custodie, and in case they be baileable to cause sufficient bandes to be taken of them for their forthecominge to be ordered accordinge to justice, and to sett them thereupon at theire libertye; or if they be not baileable then to cause them to be sente upp hether under safe and sure custodie to be further used as occasion shall serve. (Council Book.)

But the interference of the Council came too late; for it was about 11 o'clock on the night of Tuesday, January 12th, that this murder was committed.

On the 28th January Lord Stourton was committed to the Tower: and some of his money appears to have been seized upon, towards payment of costs. Sir John Fitz Williams was also sent to prison on suspicion of being concerned in it.

(No. 3.) Hilary Term 1557.

The Lord Stourton committed to the Tower upon the reading of the information against him concerning murthering of the Hartgills.

Lord Sturton in the Fleete, sent for to be in courte to heare the judgment of the court for the assessment of his fyne for the procureing his men to comitt the ryottes of the Hartgilles plaintiffs against him. The Lord Chancellor then declaring his fyne to bee 300 markes, saying, "He was not content with the order of the Court of his conviction the last terme," Lord Sturton replied "I am sorie to see that Retorick doth rule where law should take place," which wordes the Lord

His speeches used to the Lord Chancellor tending to the dishonour and slander of the Court, adjudged to bee punished.

Chancellor said were to the slaunder of the Court and to be punished, yet the punishment respited till the Queen might be advertised thereof. The Chancellor declared to the Lord Sturton, that there was an informacion against him for certaine misdemeanors committed against the Hartgills which was openly redd, whereby it appeared he pretended a frendly ende to be had between him and them, and so drew them to meete under that colour that hee meant to pay them mony according to the order of the court; they meetinge to that ende were imprisoned in his own house, bound hand and foote, and after that never heard of. Hee being asked by the Councell, where they were? said hee could not tell, but thought escaped from the constable to whom hee comitted them: where upon the Court comitted him and three of his men to the Tower close prisoners, and put him out of Comission for the Peace. Some other of his men were comitted to other prisons.

S[r] John Fitz Williams and his men comitted close prisoners for the suspition of the murther of the said Hartgills.*

(No. 4.) In the Starr Chamber the vij day of February An[o] 1556-7.

It was ordered that Arthure Sturton † havinge in his custodye 100 pounds appertayninge to the Lorde Sturton should delyver the same to Sir John Mason to be by him employed in such soarte as by my Lordes should be appointed for the charges that might fall out by the said Lord Sturtons case presently in ure, ("i.e. *now in action.*") (Council Book.)

Orders were issued for the apprehension of his servants, one of whom, Roger Gough, as appears from the next document, had made his escape into Wales. He was no doubt taken, as four appeared for trial.

(No. 5.) At the Starr Chamber the xiij[th] day of February An[o] 1556-7.

A Letter to the Vice president of Wales to cause dilligent searche to be made for one Gogh who lately served the Lord Sturton and is presently fledd in to Wales; and upon his apprehension to comyte him to safe warde: which Gogh was supposed to have ben of counsaill in the shamefull murder of the Hartgilles. (Council Book.)

(No. 6.) 23 Feb. 1556-7.

A Letter to Sir John Mason to pay to M[r]. Hampton vi[li] xiij[s] iiij[d] of the 100 pounds which remaine in his handes of the Lord Stourton's for so much paid by the said M[r] Hampton to M[r] Wadham, Sheriff of the counties of Somerset and Dorset, for bringing up of certain prisoners thither. (Do.)

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* Harl. MS. 2143. Is this a mistake for Sir James Fitz James, see Document 62.

† Younger brother of Charles and M.P. for Westminster 1555. In 1 and 2 Ph. and M. he had a grant of the custody of the palace called York Place, part of the palace at Westminster, with great garden and orchard: also garden and orchard at Charing Cross, tennis play, bowling alley, Pheasant's Court, &c., with "Paradise, Hell and Purgatory," being within "our Hall at Westminster." (9. pt. Pat.)

On the 19th February an Inquisition was held at New Sarum before John Prydeaux, Serjeant at law, Henry Brouncker, Christopher Willoughby, John Hooper, Esqrs., and a Jury of Twenty gentlemen of the county impanelled by Sir Anthony Hungerford the Sheriff. A true Bill was found: a copy of which, with the names of the Jury, will be found in Documents No. 59, 60.

On Friday the 26th February he was brought in custody of Sir Robert Oxenbridge, Constable of the Tower, and arraigned at Westminster Hall before the Judges and divers of the Council, as the Lord Chief Justice Sir Robert Broke, Henry Fitz Alan, Lord Arundel, (the Lord High Steward), the Lord Treasurer and others. "It was long" (says Strype) "ere he would answer, till at last the Chief Justice declared to him that if he would not answer the charge laid upon him he was by the law of the land to be pressed to death. At length he made his answer, was cast by his own words, and, with his four men, condemned to be hanged."

The Latin Record of his confession and sentence, translated into English, runs thus:—

(No. 7.) "And being thereupon asked how he would acquit himself of the felony and murder with which he was charged he answered, that he cannot say he is not guilty: and the said Lord Stourton expressly acknowledged the said felony and murder and for the same placed himself in mercy of the King and Queen. Upon which the Serjeants at law and Attorneys of our Lord the King and Queen immediately sued judgment against the said Lord according to due form of law, and execution to be done for the King and Queen. Whereupon, all and singular the premises being understood, it was the sentence of the Court that the said Charles Lord Stourton should be hanged." *

He was taken back to the Tower to wait further orders from the Council.

The further orders were as follows:—

(No. 8.) At Greenwiche the xxviij day of February An° 1556-7. (Council Book, p. 514.)

Present etc.

A Letter to the sherife of Wiltesheire to receave the bodie of the Lord Sturton at the handes of Sr Hughe Paulet and to see him executed according to the writte sente unto him for y^t^ purpose &c., accordinge to the minute in the Councaile cheste.

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* Conclusion of one of the documents in "Baga de Secretis."

(No. 9.) At Grenewiche the i day of March An° 1556-7. (Council Book p. 516.) A Letter to the Lord Lievetenaunt of the Towere to delivere the bodies of the Lord Sturtone's fower servantes remaininge in his custody to Sr Hugh Paulet, to be by him convayed downe unto the countye of Wilts to receive there their furder tryall for murderinge of the Hartgilles, accordinge to the order of the lawes.

On the 2nd March Lord Stourton with his four servants, in charge of Sir Robert Oxenbridge and certain guards, rode from the Tower towards Salisbury. His arms were pinioned and his legs fastened under the horse. The first night they rested at Hounslow: the next day they came to Staines: thence to Basingstoke and so to Salisbury. Execution was done upon him on the 6th March in the Market-place and he made great lamentation at his death for his wilful and impious deeds, says the historian Strype.

Bishop Burnet seems to be the authority for the story that he was hanged in a silken cord: and an old MS. in the writer's possession (being a kind of Tourist's Notes, without name or date) mentions that there was an "old silken string" hanging over his tomb. It adds, "This must needs have been a mighty comfort to him. It is not unlike a passage that is in the Roman History about Galba; who being petitioned by a condemned Knight that he might not suffer like a common malefactor, the emperor commanded the gallows to be finely painted and coloured that it might be answerable to his quality." Dodsworth says that a twisted wire, with a noose emblematic of a halter, remained till about the year 1775. Lord Stourton's monument in Salisbury Cathedral formerly stood at the East end of the church, but was removed and is now on the South side of the nave. It is a plain tomb with three apertures on each side intended, as Dodsworth explains them, to represent the six wells or fountains in the armorial shield of the Stourton family, but the resemblance is not very striking. There is no inscription.

The four servants sent down to Salisbury for further trial, (two of whom would certainly be William Farre and Henry Symes, who knocked the Hartgills down) were executed according to the following Order, (Council Book, p. 532.)

(No. 10.) 14 March 1556-7.

A Letter to Sir Anthony Hungerford Sheriff of the county of Wilts of thankes for his diligence and good service being well reported here by Sr Hugh Poulet Knt. He is also willed to deliver three of the late Lord Stourton's servants, being condempned, to the Sheriff of Dorset and Somerset to be by him hanged in chaines according to the writ sent unto him for that purpose: and to cause the fourth to be hanged at Myers (Mere) in chaines.

The other agents in the murder John Davyes, John Welshman, and Machute Jacob, are all described, in a sentence of outlawry, as "Yeomen of Stourton and domestic servants of Charles Lord Stourton."

Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, in his History of the Reformation makes the following remarks upon Lord Stourton's case:—[1]

"These severities against the heretics made the Queen shew less pity to the Lord Stourton than perhaps might otherwise have been expected. He had been all King Edward's time a most zealous papist, and did constantly dissent in Parliament from the laws then made about religion. But he had the former year murdered one Argall and his son, with whom he had been long at variance." (Then follow the particulars of the murder and sentence of death.) "All the difference that was made in their deaths being only thus, that whereas his servants were hanged in common halters, one of silk was bestowed on their lord. It seemed an indecent thing, when they were proceeding so severely against men for their opinions, to spare one that was guilty of so foul a murder, killing both father and son at the same time. But it is strange that neither his quality, nor his former zeal for popery, could procure a change of his sentence, from the more infamous way of hanging, to beheading: which had been generally used to persons of his quality." [After dismissing as groundless an idea entertained by some that in cases of Felony the Crown had no power to order beheading instead of hanging, he proceeds.] "So it seems the hanging the Lord Stourton flowed not from any scruple as to the Queen's power of doing it lawfully, but that on this occasion she resolved to give public demonstration of her justice and horror at so cruel a murder, and therefore she left him to the law, without

[1] Part 2, book ii., (vol. ii., p. 544, Nares's Edition.)

taking any further care of him. Upon this the papists took great advantage to commend the strictness and impartiality of the Queen's justice, that would not spare so zealous a Catholic when guilty of so foul a murder. It was also said, that the killing of men's bodies was a much less crime than the killing of souls, which was done by the propagators of heresy; and therefore if the Queen did thus execute justice on a friend, for that which was a lesser degree of murder, they who were her enemies, and guilty of higher crimes, were to look for no mercy."

In a later part of his work, the Bishop thus refers to the subject:[1]

"Here" (in the Council Books) "several orders are entered concerning the Lord Stourton and his servants: three of them were ordered to be hanged in chains at Mere.

"I had in my former work given a due commendation to that which seemed to me a just firmness in the Queen not to pardon the Lord Stourton for so heinous a crime as the murdering father and son in so barbarous a manner. But since I have lived long in Wiltshire, I find that there is a different account of this matter in that neighbourhood. The story, as it has been handed down by very old people, is this. The day before the execution was appointed, there was a report set about that a pardon, or reprieve, was coming down: upon which the Sheriff (Sir Anthony Hungerford) came to the Earl of Pembroke, who was then at Wilton, for advice. That lord heard the report, and was much troubled at it;[2]

[1] History of Reformation, part 3, book v., (vol. iii., p. 391, Nares's Edit.)

[2] In one of Charles Lord Stourton's letters (to Sir William Sherington, No 41), he speaks of the Earl of Pembroke as his good friend. "Well I knowe that Mr. Herbert is High Lieutenant of Wiltshire, and even as I have no vain hope but certainly do know him to be *mine especial friend* whom I would trust for my life and goods, &c." But after Mr. Herbert's rise to greatness their friendship may have ceased, for John Aubrey says that "In Queen Marie's time there was a great feud between this Lord (Stourton) and William Herbert, the first Earl of Pembroke of that family, who was altogether a stranger in the West, and from a private gentleman and of no estate, but only a soldier of fortune, becoming a favorite of K. Hen. 8. at the dissolution of the Abbeys, in few yeares from nothing, slipt into a prodigious Estate of the Church's Lands, which brought great envy on him from this Baron of an ancient family and great paternal estate, besides the difference in religion." ("Wilts Collect. Aubrey & Jackson," p. 393.)

so, apprehending some message might come to him from the Court, he ordered his gates to be shut somewhat early, and not to be opened till next morning. My Lord Stourton's son came down" (to Wilton) "with the order: but since the gates were not to be opened, he rode over" (to Salisbury) "to his father," (in the jail) "who received the news with great joy. In the night the Sheriff left Wilton, and came so secretly to Salisbury that Stourton knew nothing of it, and believed he" (the Sheriff) "was still at Wilton, where he knew he was the night before. But when he" (Lord Stourton's son) "was so far gone" (i.e. again to Wilton), "that the Sheriff knew he could not come back in time to hinder the execution, he brought his men together whom he had ordered to attend on him that day: and so the lord was executed before his son could come back with the order to stop it. I set down this story upon a popular report of which I have had the pedigree vouched to me, by those whose authors, upon the authority of their grandfathers, did give an entire credit to it. So meritorious a man as the Lord Stourton was, who had protested against every thing done in King Edward's Parliament, had no doubt many intercessors to plead for him in his last extremity. I leave this with my reader as I found it."

The reader will believe, or not, as he pleases, the "old men's tradition" as reported (in no very lucid way) by Bishop Burnet. But it is to be observed first, that the Bishop was living 130 years after Lord Stourton's execution. In the next place, in one—rather pathetic—article, the tradition must be false, because impossible. Lord Stourton's *son* could never have ridden from London with the reprieve, for in a Petition of Dame Anne Stourton (widow of Charles) presented immediately after her husband's death it is stated that the son and heir was then "*of the tender age of four years.*" (See Document No. 66.) Further, it is not very likely that a chief nobleman and a High Sheriff of the Anti-Romanist party, had they been guilty of so flagrant an evasion of the Royal prerogative of mercy, would themselves have benefitted very largely by that prerogative, from Queen Mary.[1]

[1] A somewhat similar story is told in the case of James Stanley 7th Earl of

CAUSE OF THE MURDER.

So far the Narrative of the Outrage. It will naturally be asked, what were the motives? and what provocation had been given? The Narrative itself contains little or nothing upon this part of the subject: for it only says that "Charles Lord Stourton wishing to coerce his mother into a bond never to marry again, desired to obtain in this matter the assistance of the elder Hartgill who was Steward of the Stourton Estates: that Hartgill refused, unless some provision were made for the lady: and upon this they utterly fell out." How far this is correct we have no means of knowing, for upon this particular point no fresh evidence has been met with.

The only other cause mentioned in any work hitherto published is the one assigned by John Aubrey, upon the authority of his friend the Rev. Francis Potter, Rector of Kilmington, who however lived about a century after the event. His account of the matter is as follows:—"A surly, dogged, crosse fellowe it seems he (Hartgill) was; who, at last, when his Lordship had advanced him to be steward of his Estate, *cosined his Lord of the Mannour of Kilmanton*, the next parish. I thinke it was a Trust. The Lord Stourton, who also had as good a spirit, seeing that his servant Hartgill had so ensnared him in law tricks, as that he could not possibly be relieved; not being able to bear so great and ungratefull an abuse, murthered him as aforesaid."[1]

From the further information that has now been obtained, it would appear that in one point Aubrey's statement is not quite

Derby, October 1651, after the Battle of Worcester. Lord Derby having been by Bradshaw's management, condemned to death, and his execution ordered within four days, his son Lord Strange rode with all speed, night and day, to London and presented a Petition to Mr. Speaker Lenthall by whom it was read to the House of Commons. "Cromwell and Bradshaw however had previously taken the necessary steps to prevent this measure succeeding. Observing that a majority of Members were inclined to allow the Earl's Petition, they basely quitted the Assembly with eight or nine of their confederates, and with a cold-blooded calculation and indifference unknown in History they reduced the number of the House below Forty, by which means the Question was lost and so much time suffered to elapse as secured the execution of the sentence." I find this story in Baines's History of Lancashire vol. iv. p. 35, and, using Bishop Burnet's words, "I leave it with my reader as I found it."

[1] "Collections for Wiltshire, Aubrey & Jackson," p. 393.

accurate. Instead of "advancing" Hartgill to be *his* steward, the case seems rather to have been that Charles Stourton dismissed him from the Stewardship as soon as he had the power to do so: and therefore if there was any fraudulent transaction it must have occurred in the lifetime of Charles's father, William Stourton. But with this reservation, there can be no doubt that the Manor of Kilmington was a primary cause of the feud between them.

From Official documents we learn that the Manor belonged to the Abbess and Convent of Shaftesbury, William Hartgill being their Tenant in possession. At the Dissolution he wished to purchase it, and being at that time Steward to the neighbouring property of William Lord Stourton, through his influence Hartgill obtained what he wanted. William Lord Stourton applied to the Crown. Kilmington Manor was granted to him, and he obtained a License to transfer it to Hartgill. So far the matter is clear, as proved by the following Documents.

Grant from the Crown to William Lord Stourton, 7th July 1543. (35 Henry VIII)[1].

(No. 11.) "The King to all, &c., greeting. Know ye that for the sum of £1264 2s. 6¼d. of legal money of England paid into the hands of our Treasurer of the Court of Augmentation of the Revenues of our Crown, for our use, by our beloved William Stourton Knt., Lord Stourton, for which we admit ourselves fully satisfied, &c. We by these presents, &c., have given and granted to the aforesaid Wm. Lord Stourton, all that our Manor of Culmington *alias* Kylmyngton with all its members and appurtenances in our County of Somerset. Witness ourselves, &c. at Westminster the 18th day of January."

Two days afterwards he (William Stourton) had a License from the Crown to pass it on to Hartgill.

(No. 12.) "The King to all, &c., greeting. Know ye that of our special grace and for 13s. 4d. paid into the hanaper we have given licence to Wm. Lord Stourton to alienate sell and confirm to William Hartgill To have and to hold to him his heir and assigns for ever, all that his Capital Messuage and Farm now in the tenure of the said Wm. Hartgill: the Barton, 2 closes: pasture for 40 sheep on Kylmington Heath, "ac aliam c̄iam suiam" (*sic*) wheresoever in Kylmington: a messuage and one close called "Medowes," two called Hullyns-Heyes, late in occupation of John Modon: a pasture called Dynys Calfe-hayes and Woldhayes, a wood called Church-grove late in the tenure of Henry More: a messuage newly built by John More called Dynys:

[1] Pat. Roll, 18th part, 35 Henry VIII., Memb. 36. William Lord Stourton was a large purchaser of dissolved Monastery lands.

two closes called New-hayes, *with all rights and privileges whatsoever:* All in Kilmington and late belonging to the Monastery of Shaftesbury: To hold of us and our heirs: Witness, &c., at Westminster 20th January." *

Being held of the Crown, the manor could not be alienated without this License: but a conveyance from William Lord Stourton would also be required. *Presuming* the License to have been followed up by the conveyance, it would then seem from this evidence that the manor was never in the possession of Charles Lord Stourton. But it is certain that on succeeding to his father's Estates at the end of the year 1548, he had some lands of his own in Kilmington, and also the separate manor of Norton Ferrers in that parish: and that he held Manor Courts for both. This appears from the original parchment Court Roll, dated 8th April 1549 (a few months after his father's death), now among the Marquis of Bath's Deeds at Longleat.

(No. 13.) KILMINGTON. The First Court of the Manor of the Right Honourable Charles Stourton, Knight, Lord Stourton, held there on the 8th day of April in the 3rd year of Edw. vi., &c.

At this Court the Homage present that William Hartgill is cited to show at the next Court by what right he claims common of pasture for 100 sheep *upon the Rectory.*

And at the Court held the 9th April for the Manor of Norton Ferrers in the parish of Kilmington the Homage present that William Hartgill is one of the Freeholders there. But he is cited to show by what right he claims to hold one acre called the Black Acre under Knoll Hill and Ten Acres there which the Homage say he holds unjustly. *(From the Latin.)*

About this Manor they certainly quarrelled. Whether it was that Charles Stourton suspected some flaw in Hartgill's title, or that he conceived himself to have been injured by Hartgill's having used some undue influence in obtaining the said Manor from his (Charles's) father, we have no means of knowing. But it will appear from the documents connected with this story that, in the lifetime of William Lord Stourton, Hartgill had been entrusted with the absolute management of the estates, without even ever being called to account for the same (see No. 19), also with purchases and sales thereof: that several of the Stourton estates were sold during his stewardship and that he obtained for himself from

* Pat. Roll, 18th part, 35 Henry VIII., Memb. 48.

his employer other lands besides the above mentioned (late monastic) farm at Kilmington. His conduct in these transactions must have created jealousy and dissatisfaction in the mind of the heir apparent who saw, or fancied that he saw, his patrimony unnecessarily or improperly diminished, and in this sense Charles Stourton may have considered himself to have been "cozened."

These then are the only two causes that have ever yet been produced to account for the murder; viz., Hartgill's taking part with Lord Stourton's mother, and his acquisition of land from Lord Stourton's father. For any thing else that is known in explanation of their mutual enmity we are indebted to the Papers that have lately been discovered. Yet even among them there is not one that specifically details the whole matter from the very beginning. It is only incidentally and by circumstantial evidence that we are able to infer what the case really was.

From the Papers alluded to it is clear that during the old Lord's life-time there had been, on the part of Charles Stourton whilst heir expectant, a smothered suspicion and dislike of Hartgill; and that no sooner was the breath gone from the father's body than the flame broke out between the son and the steward; the immediate cause being—William Lord Stourton's Will.

Under this, Charles Stourton found himself deprived of the whole *personal* estate, which had been bequeathed to a "Mistress Agnes Ryce." Charles Stourton contested the Will, and Hartgill took the lady's part. All the particulars of this affair will be given presently in detail.

War between them being thus seriously declared from the first, no wonder that when, as often happens in neighbouring properties, subordinate questions of right arose, the *personal* feeling interfered with patient adjustment, and their quarrels were often, and at length fatally, cut short by blows.

Of this petty border-hostility the documents supply us with several instances. Hartgill held certain lands, rent for which was claimed by Charles Stourton. The other alleged a particular Lease, but refused to produce the document, or to pay any rent. This went on for several years: and in the Rent Rolls (which are at

Longleat) these items are constantly entered year by year as "in arrear," with the marginal annotation of "non viderunt indenturam" ("the auditors have not seen the Lease"); or "on lease, as it is said," or "unpaid, pending inquiry by what right he holds," &c. The particulars of these lands in dispute are,

(No. 14.) KILMINGTON.

"*Wm. Hartgill.* Free Rent of late Henry Compton's 4s. For Cortops-hays 13s. 4d. New close £1 13s. 4d. Windmill Acre 2s. Three pastures 24 acres and close called Chattes-hays, together 17s. 4d. Total per annum £3 10s. 0d.

John Hartgill, the son: Rent for the Church-house (which he annually refused to pay) 3s. 4d.

In the Court Rolls there are also certain presentments by the Homage, that indicate no good feeling between the parties.

Wm. Hartgill is fined 6s. 8d. by rules of court for shutting up a highway called Kyteshore lane. Also for not stoning a lane called Hamsher-lane 6s. 8d.; and for not restoring to their place the Stocks ("cippos"): for not cleaning out a well called The Swallow 6s. 8d.: again for closing the Kyte-shore lane 20s. Total £4.

John Hartgill, and his servants Nicholas Loo and Thos. Rogers for an assault on Henry Symms and drawing blood, are fined the value of 3 shields and swords, 10s. for each shield and sword: Total 30s.

NORTON FERRERS and BECKINGTON.*

Wm. Hartgill. Rents unpaid for late Henry Compton's £1 12s. 2d. per ann. Do. for Barkesdale and Henstridge 5s. For land called Romsey's belonging to the Lord but in Hartgill's occupation £1 3s. 0d. Also for land called Stints 5s. Total £3 5s. 1d.†

Wm. Hartgill. Unpaid Head-rent 18s. 6d. for a Farm at Bekinton, late paid to the Lord Ferrers by the farmer under written agreement, and £6 for the same farm due to the Lord Stourton because William late Lord Stourton Kt. purchased the whole manor of Norton from Lord Ferrers. Total £6 18s. 6d.

The above Rents, Total £10 3s. 7d. not paid and not collected until it be proved by what right Hartgill holds the same.

In 1533 the whole arrears for all the above amounted to £211 0s. 5d.

They had another quarrel about the Lease of the *Rectory* estate of Kilmington. In the extracts from the Court Rolls above, (p. 263)

*Not the parish of Beckington between Frome and Bath, but a Farm near Kilmington. It may be observed that in the Inquisition taken upon W. Hartgill's death (see text before No. 63) it is particularly stated that these lands in Norton Ferrers "were held of the *heirs of the Lord Ferrers.*" Now, Wm. Lord Stourton having bought the Ferrers property, Charles may have considered that these lands were held of *himself.* There was evidently some question of title that had been left undetermined.

†"Romseys" and "Stints" are still names of fields in the parish. The former is the property of Lord Bath.

Hartgill was cited to show his right of feeding 100 sheep on that ground, and in the course of the history we shall find a forcible entry and assault by Lord Stourton to get possession of the House. (See No. 35 "Star-Chamber proceedings.")

From the evidences in the Record Office it is to be inferred that they had also a dispute about a Right of Way. Hartgill lived in the village of Kilmington but had the farm called Beckington a little way off. In order to reach it he claimed a right of crossing some fields belonging to Lord Stourton. This Lord Stourton appears to have stopped, and by force: *for immediately after his execution*, Cuthbert Hartgill, grandson of William, again exercised his pretended right to the great annoyance of Sutton then tenant, who preferred his Bill of complaint in the Court of Requests.

Among the documents at Longleat relating to this quarrel, are a few pages of Accounts, the first leaf of which, had it not unluckily been missing, would have explained, when, by whom and for what purpose they were drawn out; but it seems to consist of Extracts from old Accounts, made by some third party for the purpose of discovering how matters had stood at the death of *William* Lord Stourton. The MS. (too long and confused to be printed) contains a schedule of monies received by Hartgill as Steward, for rents, sales of wood, &c., during a few years ending 1548 (2 Edward VI.) when that nobleman died; and shows Hartgill to have received £2073 2s. There is also a memorandum of such estates of the Stourton family as had been lately "sold by Hartgill:" viz., "To Thomas Long of Trowbridge, Lands in Maddington, Alton, Steeple Ashton,[1] Hilperton and Poulshot, all in Wilts, for the sum of £2100. Others in Dorsetshire to Gerrard Browne and Fisher for £480. In Essex to Sir Ralph Warren for £700. Estates at Shipton Moigne[2] co. Glouc., and at Easton Grey co. Wilts; prices not named."

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[1] The farm still called "Stourton Farm" in West Ashton, parish of Steeple Ashton.

[2] The Rt. Hon. T. H. S. Sotheron Estcourt, from title-deeds in his possession as owner of the estate, has kindly informed the writer that, under a License from the Crown, the Manor of Shipton Moigne and Advowson of the Church were sold to John Hodges, Esq., by William Lord Stourton (father of Charles) in

But there is another Schedule which appears to exhibit the account between *Charles* Lord Stourton and Hartgill down to the time when the latter was dismissed from his stewardship. He appears to have owed his Lordship for Three quarters of a year's Rent of the various estates; also for wool, corn and cattle sold: Total £917 10s. 6d. On the other hand Lord Stourton is debtor to Hartgill for various payments made in his name. Nothing is marked here as disputable, but there were other accounts on which they never came to any settlement. Lord Stourton claimed from Hartgill, as mentioned in p. 265, £211 0s. 5d. for back-rents which Hartgill never acknowledged his liability to pay. Hartgill on the other hand claimed £368 6s. 8d. compensation for seizure of his cattle and corn (also mentioned above p. 248). This debt is alluded to in his Will dated 12 January 1555, where he gives his wife "one

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1543: but that Hartgill's name does not appear in the documents as a subscribing witness. As Lords of the Manor of Shipton Moyne the Stourtons appear to have had some claim to suit of court or other kind of acknowledgment from the owner of Estcourt; which duty having been, as it appears, not punctually performed, the following bolt was launched at the offender's head. It bears the signature, not, as it well might have done—of Tiberius writing from Capreæ—but of *a* William Lord Stourton. The signature to the original letter is so unlike that of William, father of Charles Lord Stourton that (hoping we do him no injustice) we must take the liberty of attributing its imperious and arrogant spirit, to an earlier William who died in 1522.

(No. 15.) "Estcourt, I gryte you well. And where it is so that ye have oxen of my fermers of Shepton I will and comande yo^{u} that ye deliv^{r} or cause to be deliv^{r}ed the same oxen agayne and to take yor tenants oxen that be in the kepynge of my seid fermor. And also I will ye certifie me shortly howe I shall be awnshered of suche sute as ye ofte right to doo unto my Court of Shepton. And also wyll advise you to speke shortly with yor lerned Councell. And that yo^{u} and theym to make me awnshere how I shal be contented and recompensed of my grete costs and charges with other grete trespasses that ye have done and comitted within my lordshipp there. And this to order yourself or els to send me yor mynde in wretinge what yor mynde is, to th'intent I may advertise my Councell lerned, as the case shall require. Wreten fro Stourton the xiiijth day of May.

It'm, diverse tymes ye have ben required for to do yor homage and ye do it not. I hav ben spokyn withall by my Baily ther and other of my Servants to respete the mater or els I wuld a distreyned yo^{u} or this tyme. Ye made promise to speke with me for your causes and change of land but ye come not. Do yor duty and ye shall have have that ye ofte to have of right.

WYLLIAM L. STOURTON."

hundred pounds in money, being parcel of the value of the money, corn, cattle and debts the Lord Stourton wrongfully keepeth from me." (See Document 63.)

These land and money feuds led to feuds of other kinds: and more particularly as to the right of hunting deer: about which much will appear in the Correspondence. This species of quarrel naturally brought in not only servants and retainers on both sides, but also the neighbouring gentry; and so there grew up a Stourton and a Hartgill faction.

It is also to be suspected that there was between them another cause of estrangement, and one by no means insignificant in those days—a difference in Religion. Charles Lord Stourton himself was an uncompromising Romanist, but he had for his nearest neighbours two chief men of the opposite party, the Protector Duke of Somerset at Maiden Bradley, and Sir John Thynne at Longleat. Under the old order of things, when the Hartgills were Tenants to the Abbess of Shaftesbury and Stewards to the Stourtons, they of course held the Creed of their superiors. Nor is there any evidence of their having abandoned *it*: but certain it is that when no longer allowed to act for Lord Stourton in the management of property, they enlisted themselves in the service of those who, in Religion, were rather prominently opposed to Lord Stourton and the Abbess of Shaftesbury: for the elder Hartgill had the care of the Protector's woods at Maiden Bradley, and John Hartgill was in the service of Sir John Thynne.

LOOKING at the case generally, it should not be forgotten that the Narrative of the Murder is a one-sided statement, and that, on the side of the Hartgills. For 300 years this story has remained unsifted, and we have now no means of hearing the counter-statement except by casual gleaning from the newly-discovered papers. From them it will appear that the Hartgills had been to Lord Stourton a continual blister: that being, unluckily, his nearest neighbours, and falling into, if not courting, collision with him, they made matters worse by insulting language and acts of defiance. To a fiery-tempered man this was intolerable, and were his pre-

tensions ever so just and reasonable, he was sure to spoil all by taking the law into his own hands.

It would be satisfactory even at this great distance of time, to be able to clear the name of an English nobleman of ancient lineage from the stain of deliberate murder and to attribute the crime to a furious passion of the moment. But it is not very easy to bend the facts in that direction. Irritable enough he was, and he knew it: for in a letter written, even to so high a personage as the Protector Somerset, in the very first year of open quarrel with Hartgill (1549) he drops a very significant hint that he was no man to be trifled with and could not answer for what he might do. "I humbly beseech your Grace to stand so much my good Lord that I may not be subject unto such an one" (as Hartgill) "and *that I may not be tempted*, neither any of mine, *to show the frail work of Nature*." (See No. 30). With so sensitive a temperament he had but to put his hand to his side, and there, in those days, was the steel rapier ready at a moment's notice to reply to an insult, once for all: just as the wasp buzzing long about the ears and eyes, chuses for its smart some exquisitely tender place and is rewarded with a crush. But in this case there was deliberate proceeding: a trap was set: and traps are not set without design. In order to get the persons of his enemies into his power Lord Stourton went to Kilmington by arrangement, and with the professed intention of paying the damages awarded against him. The others coming out to receive it were violently carried off. That this was for any other than the pre-conceived purpose of putting them to death, it would be difficult indeed to maintain.

Was he then a mad man? In his letters the reader will not fail to observe a certain originality and independence of character as well as some indication of a very determined and impetuous spirit. But neither in his letters nor in any other remaining evidence is there any token of mental derangement.

Guilty we must pronounce him: but the French would have added, "with extenuating circumstances."

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE.

After the account of the Murder and a general explanation, so far as known, of the causes that led to it, we come to the Letters and other Documents (besides the few already given), that have lately been discovered at Longleat and in the Record Offices. In one or two instances, the originals being of great length, the substance only has been extracted. Their connexion with the Story will be explained, so far as possible, and where there is no commentary it must be taken for granted that nothing further is known.

Of those which now follow (in chronological order, as well as the case will permit), the earliest, from No. 16 to 20 both included, relate to transactions in the time of Charles's Father, William Lord Stourton, who died about October 1548.

The first of these, No. 16, dated A.D. 1540, seventeen years before the murder, shows not only generally the lawless manner in which private quarrels were in those days settled, but more particularly (if the facts deposed to were true), that the two Hartgills had not been more scrupulous than their neighbours in the use of weapons, and that upon one occasion they were only saved from committing manslaughter, if not murder, by the interference of a stronger force. Horace says that in the early ages of the world,

> "For caves and acorns, then the food of life,
> With nails and fists men held a bloodless strife;
> But, soon improv'd, with clubs they boldly fought
> And various Arms." (1. Sat. 3, 100.)

But at Kilmington (and not there only), even in the 16th century of the Christian era, "clubs and various arms" were, as Document No. 16 shews, still used as convincing arguments for proving a man's title, not indeed to the primitive acorns, but to the animal on which, by that time, the luxury of eating them had devolved. The Hartgills, it will be seen, were quite prepared to break their fellow-parishioner's head for the sake of a hog, and that too, in the opinion of one deposing witness, under the most unjustifiable circumstances, for "they had (he says) already more brawn in their

house than the next three parishes could eat at one meal!" The document (here much reduced in length) is thus marked on the fly-leaf, "This Boke containeth the matter between Argill (Hartgill) and Richard Zouche Esq." Mr. R. Zouche was son and heir to John 9th Lord Zouche.

(No. 16.) 1540, April 8, Depositions taken at Bruton before Sir Giles Strangeways Kt., Sir John Horsey Kt., Sir Hugh Paulett Kt., Nicholas Fitz-James and George Gilbert Esqrs.*

"Thomas Amys off South Bruham, co. Som. saythe that one John Webbe als Smythe being servaunt to William Hartgell of Kylmyngton aboute ix yeres past with one John Crase, John Bryant and oders, did stele a mare with a colt of the price of xxvjs. viijd. of the goodes of this deponent, for which felonye the said Crase was arraigned and put yn execucon at Yevilchestre, and Crase at the tyme of his deth didd confesse that John Webbe was the principall doer of the stelynge of the mare and colte, and Bryant toke sanctuarij for the same felonye at Charter housse Witham, and ther beyng, confessed the like mater for Webbe and hym selff as Crase before confessed; and apon knowlege that Crase was taken for the same felonye, Webbe fledd the contrey for it. And sithen that tyme apon boldenes of Hartgill, Webbe hathe dyvers tymes resorted yn to this countrey and hath byn maynteyned by the seide Hartgill yn his house at dyvers tymes." Being a witness against Webb, the deponent was arrested under a warrant "granted by (Wm.) Lorde Stourton and thereapon was put yn the stockes by the space of iiij howres, being ther extremly thretenyd and ynforced by the same to fynde nywe sewertyes for the peace and also paide ther iiijs. for his fees or he cowlde departe.

"Henry Moore alias Smithe of Kylmyngton saithe apon his othe that the seide Hartgill and his sonnes Wyllyam and John hathe dyvers tymes layen yn a wayte and pykked quarrelles to this deponent, and made dyvers assaultes as well ageyn him as agayn som of his servauntes, yn so moche that Willyam son of the said Hartgyll did chace this saide deponent with his swerd drawen, the

* Star Chamber Proceedings, Henry VIII., vol. ii., pp. 24—30.

Thursday after the feste of the Epiphanye of oure Lorde last past, at whiche tyme this said deponent was rescued from the said Willyam by oon James Adamps then servaunt to this saide deponent; and then the said Willyam Hartgyll the yonger did hurt the said James upon the arme with his sworde, wherapon Hartgill was bound over to keep the peace, but nevertheless upon the iiird day of Marche last past, the seide John Hartgill and Willyam, sonnes of the saide Hartgill thelder, did assaulte this deponent with their swerdes and an otter-speare, he beyng then at the ploughe aboute his busyness; the saide John Hartgill did strike at him with the saide otter-speare as he wold have fledd from theym apon his horsse, but he then escaped from theym with moche daunger.

"And ferder that about the fest of All Seyntes last was twelve monethis, oon Edward Huntley, Richard Carpynter, and John Goold then servauntes to the seide Hartgyll the elder, did steale a sowe of this saide deponentes yn a place called the Holt. John Lambart of Kylmyngton forsaide did see theym take the saide sowe with a mastyff dogge, of whiche mater the said Lambert gave knowlege prively to oon Sr Willyam Southey, preste belongyng to the seid Hartgyll, and to oon John Lopham to th'entent that som good ordre myght be taken theryn by the said Hertgyll withoute ferther busynes, wherapon the said Lambert hadd afterward a heffur hurt in the legg, and an oxe likewise hurt yn the legg, and he hymself was afterward hurt and put yn daunger of his lyffe by the said Edward Huntley.

"And ferder Richard Carpynter saide to the wiffe of this deponent and to one Humfrey Smythe, that 'his master Willyam Hartgyll hadd in tubbes, fattes, and standys more brawne then iij the next parishes coude ete at one meale;' and the saide Carpynter ynsued and folowed, with a naked knyffe drawen yn his hand, ij boores of this seid deponentes, and more he knoweth not.

"John Lambert of Kylmyngton was servaunt to William Hartgill when the mare and colte of Thomas Amys was stolen, and at the same tyme Webbe was servaunt to Hartgyll, and after Crase was taken for the stelyng of the mare, Webbe by the space of xiiij daies or

more kept hym selff prively yn the wooddes of the forest of Selwodd and somtyme comyng to the seid Hartgilles house yn the nyght tyme, and ymediatly after Webbe fledde oute of the contrey for v or vj yeres and was not seen yn the countrey ageyn by all that space, for this deponent contynued yn the service of Hartgyll ij yeres next after the seide felonye comytted. The deponent was also arrested by a warraunt made by the Lord Stourton, and put yn stockes by the space of half a day immediatly after th'assises by the procurement of Hertgill, and there was compelled to fynde nywe sureties and paide for his fees iiijs. vjd. Further, on Sonday last past he delyvered a lettre from Sr Giles Strangwayes and other the Kinge's Comissioners to William Hartgill for his apparaunce before them apon these causes, wherapon Hartgill saide to him 'Iff thou wyn by this, thou shalt never lose by no bargayn that ever thou shalt make.'

"Thomas Rastall of Stavordell said, that Webbe who was an arrant theffe, when he came back yn to the countrey kept him selffe prively in the day tyme and was supported in the howse of the said Hartgill yn the night tyme, wherapon the seid Mr. Richard Zouche did send this deponent with on Edward Morice and others to apprehend the seide Webbe being then yn the housse of Hartgill, wherappon hering that Webb used to be every mornyng yn the Holt adjoyning to the forrest of Selwodd, they went to siche place as they supposed the seide Webbe wold goo towardes the Holt, thynking that oon of them shuld fetche the constable of Kylmyngton to assist theym, and ther goyng yn ther way they mett with Webb, and then this deponent saide to him 'I arrest the of felonye,' and with that the seide Webbe turned from hym and drew oute his swerd and buckler and cast a foyne at hym backward wherewith he strake this deponent through the cote under his arme, and then this deponent and his felowes didd take Webb and lefte him to his other felowes, under arrest.

"Edward Morice of Stavordell saith that when Webb was arrested Hartgill came with divers other persons to the number of xiiij, with bowes and arrowes and oder wepons, and som of theym beyng harnysed, did forcibly take a way the seide Webbe from this depo-

deponent and his felowes, albeit that this deponent didd opynly say to Hartgill that Webbe was arrested by the comaundement of the Kynges Justices. Hartgill then made awnswere and saide that 'Webb was his servaunt and wee shuld not have hym,' and with that Hartgill bade them that were with hym yn his party to 'schute at Mr. Zouche his servauntes and kyll them,' and so toke the seide Webb from this deponent and others contrary to our willes.

"Robt. Vynyng of Wincanton deposed that Hartgill caused ij bandogges to be sett on this deponent and his fellowes, to the'ntent to have their purposes aforsaide.

"Richard Wynsloo off Pen was servaunt and under keeper to Willyam Hartgill yn Brucombe yn the forest of Selwodd, and said that William Hartgyll th'elder Willyam and John his sonnes and John Webbe his servaunte, hath dyvers tymes forestallid and kylled the Kynges dere yn the said forest to a grete numbre; and ferder sayth that he fownde Huntley and John Frowde servauntes to Hartgill, where they hadd kyllid a bore with ij bandogges and put hym in a sack and caried it to the housse of the seid Hartgill.

"Item that Willyam Hartgill seide to this deponent that he hath hadd keepers byfore hym that hath brought hym a carte loode of wylde boares yn one yere.

"James Adamps of Kylmyngton deposeth that Willyam Hartgill and John his son, made assaulte apon this deponent yn the churche yarde of Kylmyngton, and the seid John Hartgill strake hym with his daggar, and the seide Willyam strake at hym with his wood knyffe and put hym yn jeopardie of his lyffe, saving that good rescue was had of honest persons that were present.

"Gylys Strangwayes, John Horsey, Hug. Paulet,
Georg Gilbert, Nycholas Fitzjames.

Ex parte William Hartgill.

"Richard Adamps of Bruton saith that aboute x or xj yeres past he hadd a dun geldynge stolen at Bruton by oon John Bayly als Smythe, and that to his knowlege Webbe was not privey to the stelyng of the seide horsse.

"Thomas Crase of North Bruham saithe that he herd Crase and

Bryaunt say that Webb did stele wyne owte of oon Wykes's wayne but he knoweth not how moche it was, and this was don aboute ix yeres past.

"Willyam Leversage of Kylmyngton herd Webb say the morrowe after that he was hurt yn the Grove besides Hartgilles housse, that certeyn of Mr. Richard Zouche is servauntes did set apon the seide Webb the day before, and badde hym yeld hym thiffe, and he defended hym selff the best he coud, wherapon he was hurt, and ferder saithe that Webbe was with Hartgill yn service by the space of a yere, after that Crase was put yn execucion and there contynued till he hurted oon Water Gullofer, then he gave hym warnyng to avoyde his service, and more this deponent knoweth not.

"Gylys Strangwayes, John Horsey, Hug. Paulet,
Georg Gilbert, Nycholas Fitzjames."

The next document is the letter referred to above p. 244.

(No. 17.) *c.* 1541. From Walter Devereux, Lord Ferrers, to William Lord Stourton, on receiving payment for the Manor of Norton Ferrers, &c. *(Original at Longleat.)*

"My very good lorde, In my right hartie wise I recomende me unto yor good lordshipp: it maye lyke yo^{w} by thessame to be advertysed that I have receyved by th'ands of yor servt. Willm. Hartgill this bero^{r} the som of xxvi hundered marks sterlyng in full contentation and paiement for the Sale I have made unto yo^{w} of all my lands in Somersett Shire, as shall appere by the Endenture und^{r} my signe manuall and Seale, the counte^{r}payn therof remayning with me under yor sygne and seale; and have signed and sealed all suche wrytyngs as he hathe brought unto me. And so the sayd lands ar to yo^{w} and yo^{rs} for ev^{r}, and nother I nor any of myne can hereaft^{r} mak clayme therunto, as knoweth Almighty God, who preserve yor good lordshipp long here to continew in helthe with muche encrease of hono^{r} to yor gentell herte's desyre. From Bewdeley the xiiijth Daye of July.

By me yor frend assured
Walter Devereux,
Lorde Ferrers."

"To the right honable his very good
lord my Lord Sturton his good lordshipp,
be theis geven."

Then follow two letters from William Lord Stourton, during his absence on the French expedition, to William Hartgill at that time his Steward. In the first, the wife referred to was Elizabeth

Dudley, resident at Hartgill's house at Kilmington. (See above p. 245.) The letters are without date of year, but they must have been written within two or three years of his death in 1548.

William, Lord Stourton to William Hartgill.

(No. 18 *Original at Longleat*), c. 1546. "Hartgill. I wolde you shoulde sett uppon my newe barne so soone as you may gett masons bycause the Worke is greate. I thinke the tymber worke muste be all newe for the old ruffe will not serve in bredethe as I here saye. Marre not my barne for lack of bredethe. I will have hym xxx foote wythin the walles. Let myne owne men whiche have borde-wages help sometymes. I am not contented that my wiffe doth goo so farre a brode as I here saye she dothe. Yf my cusen Richard Zouche* do cum to youe for any money lett hym have xl pounds, so that he wyll bynde his lands....for hyt to be payde at a daye."

From Newhaven† the seconde off Marche.

"Your lovynge master,

"W. Stourton."

"To my trustye Servante

"William Hartgill."—Seal, the arms of Stourton.

(*Docketed by Charles Lord Stourton.*) "My fader's lett^r to Hartgyll for the buylding of the barn."

From the second letter, it is clear that there must have been some intermediate correspondence, not forthcoming: that reports had been reaching William Lord Stourton unfavourable to Hartgill's character for trustworthiness: and that, whether well or ill-founded, they had produced a remonstrance from his Lordship. This letter is certainly a very remarkable one: throwing strong light upon the position of affairs when, very soon after it was written, Charles Stourton succeeded to the estates.

The same to the same.

(No. 19, *Original at Longleat*,) c. 1547-8.

"Hartgill. Whearas I sende yow worde yn my laste letters that yow weare not so trustye unto me yn my absence as I thowght yowe to have ben, I fynde daylye by trewe reporte made unto me that yowe seke youre owne gayne more then my comodytie and honor, but I entende to take an accompte of yowe (whyche I never yet dyd) at my nexte commyng over: then shall I trye your honestie. Yow have receavyed the whole profyts of my landes synce I departed firste oute off Inglande, and youe saye my barne standethe me yn

* The words underlined are struck out with the pen apparently at the time. This is the R. Zouche mentioned in Document No. 16. From some Star-chamber Proceedings, 1 or 2 Edward VI. (1547-8), it appears that Hartgill as Steward, had been obliged to complain against Mr. Zouche for depriving of their rights of Common, &c., some of Lord Stourton's Tenants in his Manor of Roundhill, co. Somerset. Possibly this may have occasioned the erasure of Lord Stourton's intention to lend Mr. Zouche the £40.

† Not New-haven in Sussex, but "Newhaven in France," meaning Havre.

grete charges, but I trust not so grete. Also yowe put yn newe men at youre plesure as thoughe my olde servaunts were not worthy truste. You have made Harry Sethe and John Butler chief controllers over my men, and Harry Sethe makethe a high waye ynto my Parke and carieth my haye awaye by nighte whiche shulde serve to preserve my dere. Also yowe have sett yn a newe Keper ynto my Parke wythout my knolege by meanes whearof I have lost a C dere, and more. Wherfor I comaunde yowe to avoyde hym oute of the parke agayne. I wolde yow shude send for my sonne Brent * and cause hym to remayne at Stourton untill I come home, for I here saye he dothe lytle goode by hys rayking abrode and specially to Syr William Carent's: Also at youre next beinge at London I wold yow shuld repayre to my daughter Clynton,† and tell her for a directe answer that I nether maye nor will lett my farm of Henton ‡ to any bodye. Yf I do she shall have her requeste, but yowe knowe I entende to kepe yt for my provision after Collins yeres be expired and so aunser her: and as for the matter in the ende of your letter, tell her she shall not nede to care for my dishonour.§ I wolde yow shuld see better to my profytts then the reporte ys made. I wolde be sorry to find them all trewe. From Newhaven the xxith of June.

"W. Stourton."

"To my trusty Servaunt William Hartgill." Seal as before.
(*Docketed by Charles Lord Stourton,*) "My fader's lett^{r} to Hartgyll."

PROCEEDINGS AFTER WILLIAM LORD STOURTON'S DEATH; Mrs. AGNES RYCE, &c.

William Lord Stourton, being still absent from home, died on the 16th September, 1548. This appears from an Inquisition post mortem held by Commission on the 22nd Nov. following, at the Castle in St. John's Street, London. He possessed at his death a house and garden with ten acres of arable and ten of meadow in the city of Westminster, and nothing else in co. Middlesex. His son and heir Charles was 24 years old and more.[1]

(No. 20.) Will and Codicil of William Lord Stourton.

In the name of God Amen, 8 Sep. 1548, 2 Edw. VI. * * * I William Stourton Knight, Lorde Stourton Deputie Generall of Newhaven and the marches of the same being sicke of bodye and parfytt of remembraunce, utterly revokinge and

* i.e. His son-in-law, Richard Brent who married Dorothy, youngest daughter of William Lord Stourton and Elizabeth Dudley.

† Ursula Stourton wife of Edward Clinton, Earl of Lincoln.

‡ Henton St. Mary and Margaret Marsh, Chapelries in the Parish of Ewer-minster, co. Dorset, Hutchins's Dorset, ii., 201, *(Old Ed.)*

§ Probably some allusion to Mris. Agnes Ryce.

[1] I. p. M. Chancery Series, 2nd part, 2 Edw. VI., 35. Among the "Particulars of Liveries" about this date, Charles Stourton is said to have been thirty years old at his father's death in Nov., 1548. This would make him nearly thirty eight and a half years old at his own execution in March 1557.

refusinge all former willes by me heretofore made or ordeyned, ordeyne and make this my onely Will and last Testament in maner and forme folowing. First I give and bequith my soule to Almightie God my onely maker and Redemer, and my bodye to be buried where it shall please God. Item I give and bequethe to my doughter Clynton two silver pottes to the value of twentie poundes. And I give also to my doughter Brent two other silver pottes of like value of twentie poundes to be caused to be made by my executor, all which with my armes and name uppon them, I will and ordeyn that my said executor shall deliver unto my said doughters within one quarter of one yere next ymmediately following after my death, to th'entent every of them may have the better remembraunce to praye for my soule. Item I do give and bequethe to M^ris^. Agnes Ryse doughter to the Counties my Lady Bridgewater, all my plate of silver gilte or peell gilte nowe remaining at Newehaven here in her kepenge or custodie, with also all my beddes and other stuf of houshold moveable and unmoveable in all places remayning within my maunour or Lordshippe of Stourton as well corne and hey as all other necessaries for husbandry and household. And also I give and bequethe to the said Agnes Rise two hundreth of my best wethers going at Stourton aforesaid, ten oxen, xij kyne, one bull, three of my best geldinges to be taken at her choise with th'apparell to them belonging; and also I give to the said Agnes all my corne as well presently growing, as in my barnes, garnettes or other places within the said Lordshippe of Stourton or otherwise provided for my houshold there. The residue of all my goodes not bequeathed I give and bequeath to Charles Stourton my eldest sonne whom I make sole executor of this my last will and testament: and be bestow for my soul's health as conscience and reason shall require, but yf the said Charles dye before me, then I will and ordeyne my next heyre to be myne executor in maner and forme above wrytten. And I ordeyne and make overseers of this my last will and testament the Lord William Hawarde and Sr John Bridges Knight now deputie of Bollen, and to everie of them I give and bequethe tenne poundes sterling. In witnes wherof to this my saide last will and testament, I have subscribed my name with myne owne hand and also my seale the daye and yere above wrytten WILLYAM STOURTON.

(Codicil.)

In the name of God Amen, this Codicill annexed to this my testament and last will made 9 Sep. 1548. * * * * Besides and above all my bequestes and legacies expressed and specified in this my said testament wherunto this my said codicill ys annexed, I will and ordeyne by the same that my servantes nowe resident and remayning in household with me especially such as be my olde servauntes, shall have during every of there lives such wages with meate and drinke as they and every of theym have presently of me, yf they will serve my sonne Charles Stourton, and suche other my servantes as have bene with me but one yere or two and will not serve my said sonne, I will that they and every of them shall have one hole yere's wages and so departe where they will. Item wheare in this my saide Testament no mencion is made of my cattell, houshold stuf and other goodes moveable and unmoveable, nor also of such debtes as be due unto me, I will and ordeyne by thes presentes that M^res^. Agnes Ryse mencioned in my said testament shall have, possess, and enjoy

to her only use all my said cattell, houshold stuf and other my goodes moveable and unmoveable that I have on this side the see, together with all suche debtes as be due unto mee here or elles where, whereof the said Agnes Ryse hath a boke and notes, except onlye twentie poundes lent by me to William Fantleroy which I will he shall not paye to any parsone if I chaunce to dye before he paye the said some unto me. Item I will and ordeyne that my servaunte Henry Barnes shall have the revercon of certeyn grounde that Thomas Kemys of Curtlingtone in the countie of Dorsett nowe holdeth of me, lyenge in Buckhorne Weston, to have and to holde to hym for terme of twentie yeres without payinge any fyne or any thing for the same. Item I give and bequethe to Joan Fauntleroy and Anne Townley my maydens to eche of theym twentye poundes. In witnes wherof we Sir William Pyrton Knight, Porter of Newehaven, John Aster gent, baylie of the marches of Newehaven, Doctour Marten Cornbecke, Sir William Fowler Clerke, William Paynter Surgeon, have enterchangeably set our hande and seales the day and yere above written: William Perton, John Aster, William Painter, Martin Corenbeckus Medicus, Gulielmus Fowler sacellanus.

The above Will and Codicil are from the Register "Wrastley 24." In an earlier Register "Populwell 17," there is another copy of the same Will and Codicil, precisely corresponding, but to that copy is appended the following official Act.

"Decimo quinto die Novembris A.D. 1548 emanavit commissio Dno Carolo Stourton, Militi, Dno. Stourton (in) hujus-modi testamento nominato ad administranda bona, jura et credita prefati defuncti *ad viam intestati* decedentis, eo quod idem Dnus Carolus oneri executionis testamenti renuntiavit, &c. De bene, &c. Et de pleno Inventario, &c., exhibend', ad Sancta Evangelia jurat'.

[i.e.] On the 15th November, 1548, a commission issued to Charles Lord Stourton to administer to the goods, &c., of the deceased *as if he had died intestate*, the said Charles having renounced the executorship.

In the Original Probate Act Book is the official entry of a subsequent Probate Act, the substance of which is met with at the end of the Will in "Wrastley."

"15to Julii 1557, emanavit commissio *Dne Anne Stourton vidue* ad administranda bona, &c., Dni Willielmi Stourton militis defuncti, dum vixit Dni Stourton, per Dnum Carolum Stourton Dnum Stourton etiam defunctum non administrata juxta tenorem testamenti de bene, &c., ac de pleno Inventario, &c., jurat'.

[i.e.] On 15 July 1557, a commission issued to the Lady Anne Stourton widow, to administer the goods, &c., of William Lord Stourton left unadministered by Charles Lord Stourton also deceased.

This "Lady Anne Stourton, widow" was Anne (Stanley), widow of Charles Lord Stourton, and the commission was granted to her nine years after the death of William Lord Stourton, and three months after the execution of her husband.

Under his father's Will, of which Charles Stourton was Executor, all the plate, jewels, debts and other valuable personalty were given to one "Mistress Agnes Ryce." To this person, so favoured, may probably be attributed much of the trouble in which he afterwards became involved. He was indignant at the position in which the Will, if carried out, would have placed him: he accordingly renounced the executorship, and obtained administration as of the goods of an intestate, intending thereby to defeat the bequest to Agnes Ryce. As this grievance forms a new and material feature in *his* history, it is necessary to enquire into her's.

Thomas Howard second Duke of Norfolk (who died 1524) had by his second wife Agnes Tylney several children, and among them a daughter Lady Katharine Howard, being his seventh child. About this Lady Katharine little seems to be known. Edmondson in his pedigrees of Howard strangely omits the whole of this second family, except the eldest son Lord William Howard (named above as one of the Overseers of William Lord Stourton's Will) afterwards (1554) created Baron Howard of Effingham. In the rare and valuable folio vol. called "Indications of Memorials, Monuments, Paintings, &c., of Persons of the Howard family, by Henry Howard Esq. of Corby Castle 1834,"[1] nothing is said about this Lady Katharine Howard, except that authorities are not quite agreed as to which was her first and which her second husband. But it is generally received, that she married 1st, Sir Griffith Rhese or Ryce K.G., (sometimes called Rhese ap Thomas): and 2ndly, Henry Daubeney, Earl of Bridgewater who died without issue in 1548. Hence her title of "Countess of Bridgewater." She appears to have been residing for some years at this period at Stourton Caundel in Dorsetshire, one of the Stourton Estates.[2]

[1] A copy of this work, being the Presentation copy from its author to Louis Philippe, King of the French, is now in the Library of Sir John Neeld, Bart., at Grittleton House.

[2] In a MS. account of Wm. Lord Stourton's Rents is the following entry. "Cow-hire. For the rent of mylch-kyne letten to my Ladie Bridgewater at Caundel at vis. viiid. the cowe, xls." It will be recollected that it was to this house Charles Lord Stourton went from London, just before he appointed the Hartgills to meet him at Kilmington. See above p. 248.

By Sir Griffith Ryce she had the daughter Agnes, named in the Will above.

It has been frequently stated that Agnes Ryce was the second wife of William Lord Stourton. Collins (Peerage), Sir R. C. Hoare and others (simply copying Collins) represent her as such, and as having had no issue by him. But Sir Harris Nicolas, (in Testamenta Vetusta, p. 729,) observes that "from the manner in which she is described in the Will as 'Mistress (i.e. Miss) Ann Rhese,' she could not have been his wife at the date of the Will 8th September 1548" (only a few days before his death); and he adds that "unless Lord Stourton had married the Countess of Bridgewater, and the said Mistress Anne Rhese was the Countess's daughter by her first husband Sir Griffith Rhese K.G., the inference to be drawn from William Lord Stourton's bequest to, and description of her, tends to raise a suspicion by no means favourable to Agnes Ryce's memory. William Lord Stourton, the Testator, died shortly after the date of the Codicil to his Will, and it consequently may be concluded that M^ris^. Agnes Ryce never became his wife. Whether the Countess of Bridgewater was the second wife of William Lord Stourton has not been positively ascertained."

This last supposition appears to be groundless and may be dismissed: but what Sir H. Nicolas says about the maiden name is to a certain extent corroborated by the fact that the same name is found upon another occasion where her married name, had she been married, might naturally have been looked for. After William Lord Stourton's death Agnes became the wife of Sir Edward Baynton of Rowdon near Chippenham: yet in the Baynton pedigree she is not called Lady Stourton, widow, but merely, as in the Will above M^ris^. Agnes Ryce. This however, though unusual, is not conclusive; nor is the way to any conclusion yet quite clear. For it has been lately discovered that Agnes Ryce, during her own life-time, produced witnesses in the Court of Chancery to depose to the fact that she was *married* to William Lord Stourton.

She had by him a daughter who, by the name of Mary Stourton, was afterwards married to Richard Gore of Alderton co. Wilts. Now it happened that the great-grandson of Richard Gore and

Mary Stourton, was Mr. Thomas Gore the writer on Heraldry, who with very great diligence compiled and in 1666 completed a MS. History of the Gore family with proofs and testimonies most precisely drawn out. At page 140 of the volume (now in the possession of G. P. Scrope Esq., of Castle Combe), Thomas Gore produces the following proof that his ancestor Mary, daughter of William Lord Stourton and Agnes Ryce, had been *legitimately* born.

"William Lord Stourton was married unto the said Agnes on Wednesday the sixth day of January in the 37th year of the Raigne of King Henry the 8th. Anno que Domini 1545 (?1546) in a certaine chappell within the mannor of Stourton aforesaid, by one Sir Richard Harte then parson of the parish church of Weston Stourton within the County of Dorset." *

In the margin of his MS. Mr. Gore gives his authority for this statement: viz., "From the depositions of certain witnesses on behalf of Agnes Rice *versus* Charles Lord Stourton in the Court of Chancery, in Edw. VI." ("Ex depositionibus quorundam ex parte Agnetis Ryce contrà Dominum Carolum Stourton in Curiâ Cancellariæ temp. Edw. VI^{ti}."[1]

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* Weston Stourton: now called Buckhorn Weston. "*William* Harte, Presbyter, was presented to the Rectory by William Lord Stourton and instituted 28 May, 1540. [Hutchins's Dorset, Old Ed., vol. ii., p. 331.

[1] Agnes Ryce afterwards married Sir Edw. Baynton of Rowdon near Chippenham, Kt. by whom she had 13 children. She died on Thursday 19th August 16 Elizabeth (1574), and was buried in the Baynton's Aisle in Bromham Church Wilts. (See Kite's "Wilts Brasses," p. 63.)

In the Gore Family Register above quoted are also two deeds relating to the marriage of Richard Gore and Mary Stourton. By the second of them, in 1573 in right of Mary his wife, Richard Gore appointed William Askew his Attorney "to enter into all those lands, &c., in Wilts, Somerset, Gloucester, and Dorset, wherof William Lord Stourton deceased died seised, and which after his death did and ought to descend to the said Mary as *daughter and heir* of the said William Lord Stourton. Dated Oct. 9th."

Richard Gore (the husband), certainly seems to have considered his wife a legitimate daughter of William Lord Stourton; for in this last deed he is preparing, in 1573, to put forward her claim as "heir," to the Stourton estates. On what ground, is not quite clear. Possibly this. If William Lord Stourton's first wife Elizabeth Dudley had really been, before William Lord Stourton married her, the wife of his brother Peter (see note above p. 243) Charles Lord Stourton would have been illegitimate. Charles being attainted, and his son not being of age nor restored in blood till 1575, Richard Gore may have been anticipating a chance for his wife Mary Stourton. But Charles Stourton's

This at first sight looks like evidence of a lawful marriage. But now comes a perplexity. Before Agnes Ryce could be the *second lawful* wife of William Lord Stourton, the *first lawful wife*, Elizabeth Dudley, mother of Charles Stourton, must have been disposed of, naturally or legally; by death or divorce. Dead she certainly was not, but on the contrary alive and well, for some years after William Lord Stourton's death in 1548: of which we have the following evidence.

1st. In the Narrative of the Murder (above p. 245) it is stated that *shortly after William Lord Stourton's death* (1548) *Dame Elizabeth his late wyff was sojourning at Hartgill's house* at Kilmington, when Charles Stourton first went there to induce her to enter into a bond never to marry again. 2ndly. She *did* marry again notwithstanding: for there is a Recognizance in the Court of Chancery 4th July 1550, by which her son Charles was bound to pay £300 "to Edward Ludlowe Esq. and the lady Elizabeth his wife, *late wife of William Lord Stourton deceased.*"[1] 3rdly. She survived her son Charles's execution (which was in the reign of Queen Mary, March 1557) and did not die until about 1560. This is proved by a letter (among the Longleat papers, see Document No. 68) written by Sir John Zouche to Sir Robert Dudley (her brother's son), addressed to him as "Master of the Horse to the Queen." The Queen to whom Sir R. Dudley was Master of the Horse was certainly Queen Elizabeth, and the letter must have been written before 1564: for in 1564 Dudley was created *Earl of Leicester*, so that any letter, written to him in or after that year, would have been addressed to him by his new title. Queen Elizabeth's reign having begun 17th November 1558, the letter must have been written between 1558 and 1564. In it Sir John Zouche mentions that the "old Lady Stourton is of late deceased and that her son Charles had been attainted "in the life time of his mother."

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legitimacy does not seem to have been ever questioned: and Richard Gore's wife got nothing. At least there is no subsequent entry in the Gore Family Register of any of the Stourton estates having been obtained by the Gore family.

[1] Close Roll, 5th part, 4 Edw. VI.

Wm. Lord Stourton's first lawful wife, Elizabeth Dudley, having therefore not been disposed of by death, had she been divorced? That she may have lived separate from her husband is, under the circumstances, not improbable, but of any actual divorce we have at present no information. There had certainly been none down to 1544, four years before Wm. Lord Stourton's death, for in that year a License was granted by the Crown to him and *the Lady Elizabeth his wife* to alienate to W. Hartgill some messuages, &c., in Hardington Mandeville.[1] She is also still called by himself "his wife" in the first letter to Hartgill from Newhaven (Havre) in France (Doc. No. 18. p. 276), in which he "is not contented that his wyffe dothe goo so far abrode."[2]

Under all these circumstances it is difficult to understand how Agnes Ryce could have been the lawful second wife of William Lord Stourton.

Agnes Ryce, having been present with Charles Stourton's father at the time of his death, kept possession of the jewels, plate, &c., then in the house. Charles Stourton brought an action against her, on the following charge.[3]

(No. 21.) Hilary Term, 4 Edw. VI., (January 1550.)

Charles Stourton Knt., Lord Stourton Administrator of all the goods, &c. of William Stourton deceased who died intestate, complains against Agnes Ryce in custody of the King's Marshal, that on the 28th October 1548 she took and carried away by force the goods and chattels which belonged to the said William Stourton at the time of his death, viz: three gold rings set with diamonds, one set with an emerald: another called a "Hoop," five others called "Gymmewes,"* a gold brooch, one pair of napkins, a black cloak, two saddles, a "trapper" of black velvet, two reins, two short cloaks of sable skins, two daggers hafted and bound with gold and silver, two belts garnished with silver and gold, a silver basin parcel gilt, a silver ewer parcel gilt, all of the value of £40: and £10Q in money; all belonging to the aforesaid William Lord Stourton at the time of his death, at Lambeth co. Surrey; and committed other damages against the

[1] Pat. 36 Henry VIII.

[2] By the phrase "so far *abrode*" is merely meant not that she went out of England, but was in the habit of paying visits at some distance from Kilmington where she appears to have been left under Hartgill's charge.

[3] Abstracted from the Latin. Coram Rege Rolls, Hilary Term, 4 Edw. VI. Rot. cij. dorso.

*Gimmal rings: some say, from *Gemelli*, twins: a kind of jointed or double ring used as a betrothing token.

said Charles Stourton to the value of £500. And the said Charles produceth here in Court Letters of Administration to the said William Stourton. He therefore prays, &c. Agnes pleads not guilty. Jury summoned for Thursday after the quindene of Easter.*

What the verdict of the Jury was is not stated: nor with mere fragments of information is it possible to form a connected story. But from the "Depositions in Chancery" above referred to, it appears that the litigants found their way thither: and from the minutes of the Council Book it is to be gathered that in this same year, 1550, the Chancellor (Stephen Gardiner) granted an injunction against Agnes Ryce: that Charles Stourton (most likely for some intemperate conduct in the affair) was committed to the Fleet prison: and that this dispute coming before the Council they reversed the Chancellor's decision, and on 28th October sent a letter to him accordingly. This being in favour of M^ris^. Agnes Ryce, she appears to have lost no time in acting upon it.

Under the Will she was entitled to certain farming-stock on the Manor of Stourton: and (if the documents are not misunderstood) she appears to have been authorized by the Council to go to Stourton House and take possession of the said stock: for, in July 1551 the Sheriff of Wilts, John Mervyn of Fonthill, was instructed to execute a Writ of Entry: Charles Stourton's own wife Lady Anne (Stanley) being at that time resident in Stourton House. Stourton himself was within the rules of the Fleet, but being probably suspected of an intention personally to oppose the Sheriff, he received on 27th July a warning letter from the Council at Hampton Court to appear before them at once, on pain of his allegiance. His wife however may have taken upon herself to resist, for opposition of some kind or other was reported to the Council.

(No. 22.) 21st July 1551. *(Council Book.)*

By letters from the Bishop of Sarum and other Justices of the peace in Wiltes unto Sir W^m^. Herbert Lieutenant there, it was declared that a reskewe was made by the L. Sturton upon the Shiref when he wold have executed a writ of entre upon assise for the manor of Stourton: whereupon the said Lord Stourton was sent for and being examined how he durst contempt the Kinges

*The Quindene or Quinzaine of Easter means the eight days preceding and the eight days following Easter Day.

officers and resist the lawes, denied that ever he made any resistance, offering to put his hande to any thinge the Council wold devise or require him to do in this behalf: and upon that a letter was devised from him to my Ladie his wief and to his servants at Sturton, to suffre the Sheriff to do his duetie and they to avoid the possession quietly, which letter he subscribed: also another letter from the Council to the Sheriff declaring the Lord Stourtons conformation, and willing him to proceede in the execution of the writt and in case he founde resistance of force then with force the Sheriff to remove it, according to the ordre of the lawes, foreseing that there be no spoyle of the Lord Stourton's goodes, but gently dispatched, &c.

And another letter to the Bishop of Sarum and the other Justices advertising them of the whole, and requiring them to assiste the Sheriff if need be.

Lord Stourton was then bound over in 1000 marks "to appear personally before the Council twice a week, viz., Tuesday and Saturday till he have further liberty:" but on the 29th July he was discharged.

But M^ris^. Agnes Ryce was not to reign long in Stourton House, for it appears that a lease of it and of the Manor had been granted by the owner to a Mr. Fauntleroy,[1] who with his wife had been turned out, together with the Lady Anne, on M^ris^. Agnes coming to take possession of her goods and stock. The Sheriff had exceeded his commission: whereupon, dated the day before Lord Stourton was set free, followed

(No. 23.) 28th July 1550. A letter to the Sherif of Wiltes that if he have dispatched (i.e. deprived) Fauntleroy and his wife of their possession in the fearme of the manor of Stourton which he had none authoritie to doe, that then he should see them restored againe and leave them in as good case as he found them: as appeareth by the minute. *(Council Book.)*

It now became Mr. Sheriff Mervyn's duty to re-instate Mr. Fauntleroy, but upon proceeding so to do, the Lady in command of the garrison, M^ris^. Agnes, barred the gates, denied all entrance and threatened death to the first intruder. Upon this occasion William Hartgill appeared as her upholder, and used some

[1] The Fauntleroys were a Dorsetshire family of Fauntleroy's Marsh near Stoke (Hutchins's Dorset ii., 353, Old Edition), but they had some property in Wilts. Edward 5th Baron Stourton, grandfather of Charles, married Agnes Fauntleroy: and in Stourton Church there is a monument to them, without inscription. A plate of their effigies is in Hoare's Modern Wilts, "Mere" p. 45. In 1551 William Fauntleroy and Cecilia his wife presented to the Rectory of Stourton for that turn. (Ditto 169.) These must have been the Lessees mentioned in the text.

insolence towards Mr. Fauntleroy. Complaint was forthwith made to the Council, and letters were also sent up from the rival party. The Council required an impartial report of what took place to be laid before them; and the next document is that report, signed by seven of the neighbouring gentry and others.

(No. 24.) 1551, 31st July. Roger Basyng and others to the King's Most Honourable Council.[1]

It may please yo[r] honorable Lordshipes to be advertised that upon the request of Mr. Fauntleroye to thentent we shulde reporte the troythe as well yn the demeano[r] of the Shirif upon the recepte of your honorable letters as allso the demeano[r] of the sayde Fauntleroye, we repaired to Stourton the laste daye of July whereat we found the Shirif and then the Shirif came to the mano[r] place of Stourton and found the yeates faste barred beyng kept by force with gunes, bowes, and other weapons, and ymediatly after, William Hartgyll then beyng present, after that he had secret comynycacon with the Shirif, came unto the gate and there secretly disclosid his mynde to the portar through an hole of the gate. Whereupon M[es]. Ryse came her self to the gate and caused it to be openyd: and the Shirif declared that he had receved yo[r] honorable letters at the sute of the sayde Fauntleroye (but shewyng none yn our sight) declaryng unto the sayde M[es]. Ryse that he was comaundyd upon the sight of his lease to deliver hym the possession thereof, and that the Shirife's request was at the leste that M[es]. Ryse shuld be contentid yf Fauntleroye shulde put yn servauntes yn to the ground and a keper yn to the parke for the tyme: who made aunswer, (any letters notwithstanding) but that "if Fauntleroye or any other for hym wolde come upon the ground for any suche purpose he shulde never go oute of the same on lyve." She suffred the Shirif and his servauntes with Hartgill and others to come yn, peaseably to come yn, to the place, and kept Fauntleroye and all other oute: and there they remaynyd by the space of half an houre and more: and then came oute agayne: and M[es]. Ryse kepyng the gate hereself sayde "that she wolde kepe the possession thereof untill she were discharged by a lawe," (any letters notwithstanding.) The saide Fauntleroye then, having his lease yn his hande, offrid it to the Shirif, desiryng hym to execute his office accordyng to the purporte of yo[r] sayde honorable letters; who made awnswer and sayde "I have allready seen yo[r] lease, but ye heare what M[es]. Ryse saythe, I will medle no more yn this matter withoute farder auctoryte." And then the sayde Fauntleroye beyng offended for that he sawe the rames * of deare lying yn the base Court spoyled and eaten with dogges and brought oute of the parke of Stourton, the sayde Hartgill sayde "What! dothe this sight greve thee? thou shalt see xx or xl deare kylled theire yn one daye before thy face within this sevennyght, and therefore grudge not at this:" and thereupon the Shirif departid, as knoweth the lyvinge Lorde who long preserve yo[r] honorable Lorde-

[1] State Papers Domestic., Edw. VI. vol. xiii. Article 32.

* Rames, "the relics of a branch after the leaves are off. Ranes *(Devon)*, the carcase or skeleton of a bird." Halliwell's Dictionary of Archaic words.

shipes. Writen at Bonham the laste day of Julij by yor Lordeshippes to comaunde

ROGER BASYNG, RYCHARD SAMWELL, JOHN DYER, ROGER MAWDLEY, BARNABE LYE, JOHN OWEN, WYLLIAM STACY.

William Lord Stourton's Will was once more brought before the Court of Chancery and again Bishop Gardiner decided in favour of Charles Stourton. Mr. Chafyn of Mere was a debtor, in the sum of £40, to the estate of the testator. Agnes Ryce claimed it as part of the personalty. Mr. Chafyn paid, or pretended to have paid it to her, and producing her receipt as a discharge, refused to pay it to Charles Stourton, who thereupon filed a bill. In the Decree, November 1553, the Chancellor pronounced Chafyn and Agnes Ryce to have been guilty of covin, or deceitful compact, and condemned Chafyn to pay the debt to Charles Lord Stourton together with all the costs of the suit.

The Decree was as follows:—

(No. 25.) 18th Nov., 1553. Decree in Chancery, Lord Stourton and Thomas Chaffyn.*

Where matter in variaunce hath longe dependid in this honorable Courte of Chauncery betwene the honorable Charles Stourton Knyght Lord Stourton, playntyf and admynyster of the goodes and catalles of Willm late Lord Stourton his father deceassed on thone partie, and Thomas Chaffyn of Mere in the countie of Wilt gent. defend' on thother partie, for and concerning a certen debte of £lxxx due by the said Thomas Chaffyn unto the said Charles Lord Stourton uppon an obligacon wherein the said Chaffyn stode bounden unto the said William Lord Stourton for the payment of the said foure score poundes; *** It manyfestly appered unto the said Courte by dyvers witnesses brought in on the behalf of the said Lord Stourton complaynaunte, that the said sume of fourescore poundes ought to be paide unto the said complaynaunt as administratour of the gooddes and cattalles of the said William Lord Stourton his father as is aforesaid, and albe it in the aunswere of the said defendaunte it is alledged that the said obligacon or dede obligatorie was delyvered by the said William Lord Stourton father of this complaynaunt to thandes of one Willm. Hartgill safely to be kepte to thuse of one Agnes Rise, to whome as it also is alledged in the said aunswere of the said defendaunte the said obligacon or dede obligatory was by the said William Lord Stourton by his last will and testament gyven, yett forasmoche as the said Charles Lord Stourton hathe disproved and made voyed the said supposed will of his father by *sentence diffynytive*, and for that also that it appered to this honorable Courte by dyvers wittenesses brought in on the part and behalfe of the said Charles Lord Stourton that the said Chaffyn confessed the debte and became debter unto the said Charles Lord Stourton for the said foure score poundes, though here in this Courte the said Thomas

* Judgment Rolls, Court of Chancery, 5th part, Philip and Mary, Article 72.

Chaffyn shewed forthe an acquyttaunce delyvered unto hym by the said Agnes Rise as he alleged for the discharge of the same foure score poundes, whiche seemed to be only doone by covyn betwene the said defendaunte and the said Agnes Rise.*** It is therefore this present 18th Nov. 1 Mary, by the right reverend father in God Stephen Bisshopp of Wynchester Lord Chauncellour of England and by the said Court of Chauncery, ordered, adjudged and decreed, that the said Thomas Chaffyn defendaunte, his executours, admynistratours, or assignes on this side the feast of Seynt John Baptyst next comyng, shall paye or cause to be paied unto the said Charles Lord Stourton complaynaunte, his executours, or assignes, the sume of fourescore poundes of lawfull money of England together with the sum of ——— for the costes and charges susteyned by the said Charles Lord Stourton in suying for the same in this courte. * * * The Lord Stourton to give T. Chaffyn a sufficient acquyttaunce or discharge for the same.

Agnes Ryce does not appear again in this history, but in the above facts there is enough to show that she must have been a source of no small disquietude to Charles Lord Stourton. In order to tell without interruption all that we know of their dispute, we have been obliged to anticipate events, and must now return to the end of the year 1548 when his father died.

Various Quarrels.

Hartgill's stewardship had begun to give dissatisfaction before William Lord Stourton's death, but that he had not been dismissed down to July 1548 appears from a letter at Longleat written on the 21st of that month by a Mr. Shelden to Sir John Thynne, in which the writer mentions some information he had received "from a man sent by Mr. Hartgill for the despatch of my Lord Stourton's business." But he probably did not remain in office long after Charles's succession, for we find them at variance before the end of that year, in the case of

The Kilmington Chaplain and his Wife Accused of Poisoning.

All that is known about this is derived from two letters, the first of which was written by Mr. John Gamege Under Sheriff to Sir John Thynne of Longleat who was High Sheriff for the county of Somerset in 1548, and what he really intended to communicate to his Superior it has not been very easy to discover, for the original composition of Mr. Under Sheriff Gamege is written in a most illegible hand, in a style not by any means transparent, and with an entire and sovereign contempt for those humble but useful auxiliaries to meaning, commas and full stops.

It seems that a certain widow had lately lost her husband, and that Mr. Roger Basyng, a Somersetshire gentleman (whose name has occurred before) was, for reasons unknown, anxious that she should marry again, and marry some particular person in whom he was interested. Mr. Hartgill however had been beforehand with him, and had prevailed upon the widow to marry his Chaplain at Kilmington. Whereupon a report was set about (attributed in this letter to Mr. Basyng and his friends) that Mr. Hartgill's Chaplain and his new wife had poisoned the former husband. Lord Stourton, as a Magistrate, orders an inquiry, and sends a man of his own to take proceedings. The man attaches the Chaplain's goods, and (as appears from the second letter) takes the Rev. gentleman himself into custody. Hartgill then applies to the Sheriff of Somerset, Sir John Thynne, for a warrant to arrest Lord Stourton's man. The Under Sheriff Gamege goes with Hartgill to Wanstrow to execute it. On their way they chance to overtake the old father of the first husband supposed to have been poisoned. In order to find out from the old man what strength of evidence there was to sustain the charge of poisoning, Hartgill and Gamege (who must have presumed themselves to be personally strangers to him) pass themselves off as of the party anxious to convict the accused: and further, in order to throw dust into the old man's eyes, they speak of "Hartgill and Gamege" as mere creatures of Lord Stourton. The old father was at first a little suspicious; but upon their saying they would take no more trouble on his behalf if he would not help all he could, he placed his best facts in their hands. After hearing them, they treat the whole as frivolous and so report it to Sir John Thynne. Under Sheriff Gamege is evidently a strong Hartgill-ite and betrays ill will towards Lord Stourton's party: not forgetting to make against the Coroner an insinuation of partiality, which however will be more openly expressed by Hartgill himself in the subsequent letter.

(No. 26.) 1548, Dec. 17. John Gamege, Under Sheriff, to Sir John Thynne, Sheriff of Somerset. *(Original at Longleat.)*

"Ryght Worshipfull. Of my bounden dewtie thes shalbe to certyfie yow that immedyately after I had spoken with Mr. Hartgyll he wylled me to goo with him to attach on of my Lord Stourton's men beyng then suspected of

felony which then had seased the goods of Mr. Hartgyll's prist to the use of the Lord Stourton, for that the said prist together with his wyff are also suspected of felonyous murdre by murdering of the late husbonde of the seid prist's wyff, which suspicion sholde seme rather to growe of kankered malice of Mr. Horner, Fitzjames, and Basyng, partly because, as I am informed, the seid prist's wyff being wydowe wold not marie a servant of the seid Basyng at his request and partly because she maried the seid prist at the request of Mr. Hartgyll then of any just cause or good profe. For the proff whereof yt may please you to understand that in riding to Wanstrowe where the seid Lord Stourton's servant was, we chaunsed to overtake the father (of the said man so supposed to be murdred) cumming from Mr. Fitzjames. Mr. Hartgyll, fayning hymself to be a friend of the said parties, magnyfying them and with most vyle termes depravyng hymself, and I, my self, to be vendyd to my Lord Stourton, inquiring of hym what was the occasion of his first sute in that behalf? who half mistrusted us and wold have departed from us but we compelled hym saying, 'We came about the busines and the ayde, and if thou leave us we wyll leve thee,' but at length he trusted us so much that he declared the matter wholly, saying one Hill declared to hym that hys sone x dayes before he dyed dyd swelle a wonderfull bygnes; then seid Mr. Hartgyll, 'Made he no wyll?' he answered, 'Yes:' 'When?' said he. He answered, 'More than fower dayes before he dyed.' 'Well,' quoth Mr. Hartgyll, 'is this all ye canne saye?' he answered, 'No, for ij days before he dyed, she brought home Malmesey which she dyd warme at the fire and after gave her husband to drinke and after that threw away the pott;' with dyverse others as fonde and fryvolous as vayne and of none effect. 'Well,' sayed Mr. Hartgyll, 'then was it by your tale vi days after he was poysoned before he made hys wyll, and I pray thee what gave he his wyff?' he answered, 'He made her his executrice, and gave her all that he hadd, save onlie certen to his sone.' 'Then,' said Mr. Hartgyll, 'he thought not then to be poysoned by her I thinke." And further the seid father declared that a chyrurgeon was hyred to cumme and se the ded body beyng taken up and had iijs. ivd. for his labors, which founde that his necke was broken, the whiche if it be trewe semeth rather to be done by some polycy than by the woman, for all the day before the man lay above the grownde, the Coroner syttynge upon hym, all men going by and beholding the corse, no man perseyving his neke to be broken, nother they that toke hym up nor none of the Coroner's Inquest, insomuch the said Inquest were determined to have acquyted the said suspecth because they had no evydence concernyng the poysonyng, nothing mencyoned of the brekyng of his necke. Whereuppon the Coroner of his hote charitie adjorned the Inquest uppon better advyse to gyve the verdict at an other tyme and left the corse, as Mr. Hartgyll sayeth, in the custodie of the mortall enymyes of the seid suspecth to be watched, and so agenst the morning the said surgyon provyded declared as ys aforeseid. And further Mr. Hartgyll sayeth that the said suspected can bryng sufficyent wytnesses that were at the deth of the seid partie and continually three or fower howers before hys deth, and sawe hym ded and alyve and after buried and lay fyve wyks in the ground nothing spoken nor mencioned of any such murdre pretensed, and further at the comaundement of Mr. Hartgyll I have sent you herein inclosed the copie of the letters which Mr. Horner of late

sent to the seid Basyng. Thus your servant wisheth you prosperous success. From Kylmygton the xvijth of December.

JOHN GAMEGE."

"To the right Worshipfull and his singler good
Master, Syr John Thynne Knight, delyver thies."

In this affair Lord Stourton may have only have been doing what it was his duty to do—investigating a suspected murder.

The other letter upon this subject is

(No. 27.) 1549 January 1st. William Hartgill to Sir John Thynne. *(Original at Longleat.)*

"My bounden dewtie right lowly remembered. It may please you to be advertysed that according to your plesure I have, herein inclosed, send to you such certyficatts as ye wrote to me for, in every behalf to the beste of my poure accordynge to the truthe of every parcell in your gentle letters mencyoned. And to the utterest of my powre I wull ayde and councell our Under Sheriff for your wurshyp with all my stodye. And I have advysed him to make a boke that ye may se every peny by him taken as well for fees of all kynde of process, as otherwyse, for the fees of the process moste stop a great gap for it wulbe worthe £40 or better yet it muste be resceyvyd in smawle porcyons. I wuld be right sorry that ye shuld be a loser, and agayne I wuld ye shuld not be to mowche a gayner, but oonly moderation to Rule.

Sir, my pryst his wyff is indyted for poysoninge of here old husbond and also for brekynge of his neck, and the pryste and oon other that was moste concordante with them and privy howe he dyed, (because he declared to Horner and Fitz-James the truthe), bothe indyted as accessaryes, and do remayne in the gayle and all theire goods spoyled and suche wemen as were at the dethe of the man have ben sett in the Stocks to compell them to apele fawlsly the saide powre woman but they can sey nothinge but all good, and the Coronar and also the Jury do confes that none of them never toke othe of no person in gevynge onyman's evydens but only the report of Henry Fytz-james and the Papeste Jury whiche were made by John Dyer's clerke, who was then the Coronar's clerk, and Horner and Fitz-james man: The Coroner by the lawe shuld have requyred the Sheryf and Bayly of the hunderthe to have warned the next four townships and of them they to have made an indeferent Jury which to do the Coroner refused afore your Deputie contrary to the lawe: it is the most faulseste mater handeled that ever was in this contrey. Let God (*sic*) beware how he do come in to this parties, yf he wull do or speke leke hymselff, for then, yff Horner and Fytz-james wull sey ye (yea), then shall he be indyted of morther at the leyst.

As I shall aunswer affore God, all thyngs that I did certyfye ageynst my Lord Stourton's men in huntyng is trewe, as with credeable persons I am ever redy to justifie: they make the Kyng's forest * to be my Lord Stourton's purlewe: it is to Lord Stourton, as Saynt Akers (St. Algar's) the Ruyge and Abbottys-more is to yow, and none otherwyse. And sethens the resayte of your letters concernynge the same they have kylled in the saide forest thre dere at oon tyme,

* Selwood.

and every weke they do kyll as mouche as they may, whiche I am able to prove. And also they, at Crystmas Eve laste, assawted the Kyng's Kepers my servaunts, and dyd put them in jeberdye of theire lyves and resceyvyd at there handes many grete strypys, and some dyd geve agayne. I am sory my Lord and his men have none other rayling-stock but oonly in fawls (*false*) depraving of me. And his Lordship, as it shalbe well approvyd, lovythe every man well in thes parties but oonly my Lord's Grace (Protector Somerset) servaunts, and all other that be knowen your frynds ; and, as he reportethe, he wull do mowche to them yf God do not help: he that made aunswer affore you is knowen as fawls a thiff, and so be his felowys that bere the rule here under my Lord (Stourton), as any be in England and that my Lord knowethe right well. I truste Fytzjames and his felowys shall oons here (i.e. *shall one day hear*) of the unlawfull words that I certyfyed you of. I am redy to justifie it of truthe, with oon other right onest gentelman, for all theire juglyngs. And this I remayne yours with trewe hart and servyse as knowethe God who preserve you in wurship. Wreten in hast the fyrste day of January

by your servaunte assuredly
WILLM. HARTGYLL."

"To the right worshipfull my moste singuler good
Master, Sr John Thynne, Knyght, be this delyveryd."

Law-Suit with the Protector Somerset.

1548-9. In Lord Stourton's bailiff's accounts of this year there is an entry that "the Bailiff keeps back 40s. of Rent for lands in Marston Bigot pending a Suit with the Duke of Somerset until the justice of the Law determine it, as he, the bailiff, would be liable." This entry is repeated, and in both places Lord Stourton writes on the margin "Recepi, Charolls Stourton," from which it would appear that he established his claim.

Kilmington Constables in the Stocks. The Blood-hound.

The next letter is from Thomas Chafyn Esq., addressed to Sir John Thynne. Mr. Chafyn (who has been mentioned before) was the head of an old Wiltshire family living at Seal's Clevedon (now called Zeals) in the parish of Mere adjoining that of Stourton. He speaks of Hartgill as "my Cosin." The first part of the letter refers to one of the Leversedge family, owners of Vallis and West Woodlands in the parish of Frome, co. Somerset. "Mr. Horner" was probably of Cloford in the same county. The rest of the letter contains two new complaints against Charles Lord Stourton: first, for putting into the Stocks the parish Constables of Kilming-

ton who, as Mr. Chafyn says, had only executed orders sent down by the Protector Somerset the owner of Maiden Bradley adjoining. The second grievance will be often referred to: the detention by Lord Stourton's keepers of a favourite blood-hound of Hartgill's.

(No. 28.) 1549, April 17. Mr. Chafyn to Sir John Thynne. (*Original at Longleat.*)

"Ryght wurshipfull Mr. Thynne my dewtie of humble commendacyons condignely premysed unto you with most hartie thanks for all your gentylnes. These shal be to asserteyne you that I have caused Mr. Leversage to be arestyd by your undershereyffe upon a statute at the sute of Mr. Button, the penaltie wherof is fyve hundred marks, and old Horner, not a lyttell greved therwith, have made soche craftye meanes to your seyd undershereyfe that he hath the custodie of the seyd Leversage at his owne wyll and plesure, doughtynge nothynge but that your seyd depute have taken suere bondds of Horner for your discharge yn that behalfe; yet better had hyt bene yff he had remayned styll with your depute tyll an ende had byn taken theryn. Yffe your plesure be to wrete your ernest letter with spede to your seyd depute that he maye folow my coseyne Hartgyll's advice and myne yn the premyses, wee shall soe use the matter that you shall be therin right well contented and Horner nothing therwith pleasyd.

I have also sent to you heryn enclosed a letter that was sent to me by the searchers of mettalle that were of late sente downe ynto Wiltshire and Somerset by my Lord's Grace's commaundment, desyring you to loke upon the contents therof. I have sent you in lyke case the copie of a precepte and commaundment addressid from my Lord's Grace to all officers yn the Kyng's Majestie's behalfe for to make provision for horses withyn the lymetts of theire office for the seyd parties yn theyre affayres. Wherupon the Constabulls of Kylmyngton dyd theyre endevor for the trew executyng of my Lord's Grace seyd commaundment, at the request of the seyd parties, to provide them horses withyn theyr office accordingly. And now of late since my Lorde Stourton's repayre into the contrey the seyd constabulls for the executing of theyr office yn the premysses have been sett openly yn the stocks by my seyd Lord Stourton with soche crueltie as the lyke have not ben sene. And this open shame have these honest men, beyng the Kyng's officers, reseyved openly att my seid Lorde Stourton's hands for the only doyng and executyng theyr office apon the auctorytie of my Lord's Grace's commaundment. Whereupon these poore men thus beyng punisshed have been with me, and made soche mone for theyr opyn shame that they have this reseyved, yn executing my Lord's Grace's comaundment, that hyt petyeth me to heare it. And for by cause of my bownden dewtie that I owe to my Lord's Grace, and also for my discharge yn this behalfe, and for that I doo thynck this matter redownyth mooch to my Lord's Grace dyshonour, his Grace's commaundement to be had yn soo lyttell regard and by others to be adnychilatted and set naught by, is the cheife cause of my wretinge to you hereof remyttyng hyt holly to your discression. Please it you also, good Mr. Thynne, to understond that my cosyn Hartgyll is wrong named yn the Commission now for the Relyefe. They have named hym Thomas, where hys name

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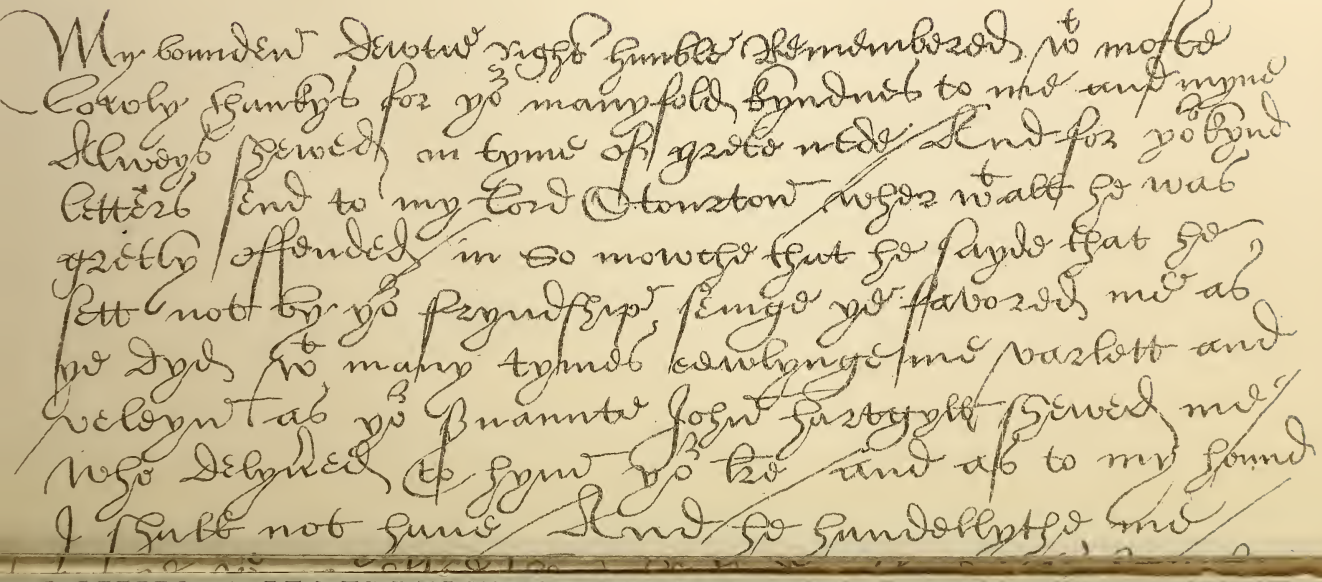
Fac-simile of a Letter from WILLIAM HARTGYLL *to Sir John Thynne,*
6th May 1549.

My bounden dewtie right humble Remembered wt moste
Cowly thankys for yo manyfold kyndnes to me and myne
Alweys shewed on tyme of grete nede And for yo kynd
letters send to my Lord Stourton wher wt all he was
grelly offended in so mowche that he sayde that he
sett not by yo frynd ship seinge ye favored me as
ye dyd wt many tymes cawlynge me varlett and
veleyn as yo Swannte John Hartgyll shewed me
who delyvered to hym yo lre and as to my hound
I shall not have And he handellythe me
more wt cruelte then he dyd afore as I truste
shortly ye shall knowe more And as to the
carryage of yo Stonys shalle aplyed wt the best
of all my lytle powre when the weys be redy
And yo undersheryff have used hym selff aster agood
sort as towchynge Mr Levsayge for he hathe
sevyd Mr Buttons towrn in the beste man that
may be devysed by meanys of the lawe for all
levsege is lande wt the hundrethe of ffrome
is extended but at xxxj lt by the yere where
wt Mr Horner is not beste pleased And I
think hit wulle cause levsege and hym to
depte compeny wt in short tyme And truste
ye shall fynde Mr Camage to shewe hym selff
towards you a pfetable offyeer And for my
pte I truste to fulfylle all yo commandements
avordyngly And this I pry Jhu preserve you
in wurship wt longe lyff wretyn in hast
At Kylmyngton the vjth day of May by.

Yo assured powreman
William Hartgyll

Fac-simile of a Letter from WILLIAM HARTGYLL to Sir John Thynne,
6th May 1549.



is Wyllyam, but Mr. Fitz-james, Horner, and my Lord Stourton beyng of that Commission, doyth not a lytell enjoye thereat. Surely you wold lyttell thyncke howe moche my seyd Coseyne Hartgyll is dysmayde and dyscomfortyd, what with the betyng and mayminge of hys man and takyng awey of hys lyame hownd * and the deteynynge of hym by my seyd lord Stourton and hys servants. And now thus hys enemies to tryumphe at hym concerning the premysses, I fear the conseyt therof wull shorten hys tyme unlesse some comfort maye cum to hym shortly by your good helpe. And thus levyng to trobull you any farther at thys tyme, desyring your helth with the contynuance of the same. From Mere rasshely wretyn the xviith of April by your owne assuredly.

THOMAS CHAFYN OF MERE."

"Too the right wurshipfull and my very good master
Sir John Thynne, Knyght, be this delyvered with spede."

Sir John Thynne appears to have attempted a reconciliation between Lord Stourton and Hartgill, and by so doing to have fallen into disgrace with his Lordship. The hound is again mentioned.

(No. 29.) 1549, May 6th. W. Hartgill to Sir John Thynne. *(Original at Longleat.)*

"My bounden dewtie right humble remembered with moste lowly thankys for your manyfold kyndnes to me and myne alweys shewed in tyme of grete nede. And for your kynd letters sent to my Lord Stourton wherwithall he was gretly offended insomowche that he sayde that he sett not by your fryndship seinge ye favored me as ye dyd, with many tymes cawlynge me varlett and veleyne, as your servaunte John Hartgyll shewed me who delyvered to hym your letter. And as to my hound I shall not have it. And he handellythe me more with crueltie then he dyd afore, as I truste shortly ye shall knowe more. And as to the caryage of your stonys, it shall be aplyed with the best of all my lytle powre when the weys be redy. And your undersheryff have used hym selff after a good sort as touchynge Mr. Leversayge for he hathe servyd Mr. Button's towrn in the best manner that may be devysed by meanys of the lawe, for all Leversege's lands within the Hundred of Frome is extended but at £xxxj by the yere, wherewith Mr. Horner is not beste pleased. And I think hit wull cause Leversege and hym to departe company within short tyme. And truste ye shall fynde Mr. Gamage to shewe hymselff towards you a proffetable offycer. And for my parte I truste to fulfyll all your commaundements accordyngly. And this I pray Jesu preserve you in wurship with

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* "Lyame." In Todd's Johnson this word is explained as "a thong for holding a hound in hand." "My dog-hook at my belt to which my *lyam's* ty'd: my hound then in my *lyam*:" Drayton. "Chien limier, *Fr.* "He tied him in a lyem and delivered him to one of his servants to be carried about the town as one of his hounds, and then led him home, like a dog." Archæol. xxviii., p. 97. A "lime-hound" is said to mean a blood-hound. "For finding the stag, you must be provided with a blood-hound, draught-hound or suit-hound, which must be led in a *Liam*, according as in the plate represented." Gent. Recreation p. 82.

longe lyff. Wretyn in hast at Kylmyngton the vith day of May by
"Your assured powreman
WILLM. HARTGYLL."

"To the ryght worshipfull and my most singular
good Master, Syr John Thynne Kt., be this delivered."

Lord Stourton now lays his complaint against W. Hartgill before the Protector Somerset.

(No. 30.) 1549, June 21. Charles Lord Stourton to the PROTECTOR. *(Orig. at Longleat.)*

"My duetie considered, Pleasith it yor grace to be advertised, that forasmuch as I have heretofore received the burden of some reports unto your Grace betwixt Hartgill and me, I have therefore, at sundry times, borne more than frail nature, by just occasion, wold permytt, and even as I have made answer unto your grace for the furst report, so may I say again, which is, that I have not, at any time, molestyd hym with word or dede, nether contrary to a law, nether yett to the extremytie therof. But as I can learne, my symplisitie and quiet dealing have ben an encoragment to his wilfull presumptyous and outragious mynd. For he hath not only brutyd and reported me to be a maynteynour of Rebellyous with other unjust reports and slaunders, but also this Wedonsday, being the xixth of June, my poor man, who kepith my houndes, having them to a place of vile relief wher one of my tenants had a horse dedd, in his retorne, almost att my gates, Hartgill made great spede towards hym on horsback with his crose bow bent and forked arrow in the same, having two others riding after hym on foote [*sic*] with long bowes and arrowes, and tryumphed with hym as well with outragious talke agenst me as also thretening hym to kill hym. Also even the same day certyn of my men chanced to be hunting of the hare in the fyldes, as in dede I steare them sumtymes to practes theire bowes and somtymes to hunt, bycause I will not have them idle, and in their returne homeward Hartgill cam to them with a forest-bill, and thre others with bowes and arrowes in them half drawn, and fower with bills and staves, requyring my men to kepe their ground and stay; his men being plantyd round about them, he began to talke at libertie, my men gyving hym no ill word from the furst to the last, yett I am sure, my comandyment not to the contrary, they wold have betten hym and all hys men and taken their weapons from them. Then he reviled my men and bragged to them like a mad man, saying that yf his men did kill two or thre of my men, he woold bare them out, and moreover said, although he warre sworne to the peace yet wold he borrow a poynt of the law, for he had two or thre hundrith pounds to spend in vayne. And as God wold, my men departed doying no grief unto hym, howbeit truly Sir they had much care to forebare him. Therefore I umbly beseche your grace to stand so moche my good Lord, according to my hope, that I may not be subject unto such one, and that I may not be tempted, nether any of myne, to shew the fraile worke of nature. But in good faith, Sir, if I do, I must nedes desier your Grace to bare with my weaknes, for I am sure there is no gentleman wold take the like ingratitude that I have done at his hands. Sir, I am sory that I am forced to truble your Grace with so long declaracions, yet could I reherse a grete deale more, which

yf yt may stand with your Grace's pleasure this bearer may advertise your Grace of the wholle. The names of my men are under-written who will be at all tymes at your Grace's comaundment to take an othe all this to be trewe. Thus Jesu preserve your Grace in prosperous estate to his worthy will. From Sturton this Friday the xxist of June 1549.

Roger Ellis, John Blandford, Robert Frank, Owyn Tew, Alexander More and Richard Muckill, of the which the furst two rehersed are auncyent house holders and thei all are honest men.

"Your Graces to com̄and

×

Carolus Stourtū."

(*Addressed*)

"To the high and excellent Prince my Lord Protector's Grace with speed." (*Below, in another hand,*) "L. Warwyk."

(*Docketed*) "My L. Stourton complayninge upon Hartgyll, to my Lord P. xxi^{o} Junii 1549."

Sir John Thynne, trying to make peace, had written some good advice to Lord Stourton, but instead of peace, his letter only produced an intemperate reply. The captured blood-hound appears to have belonged to the Protector Somerset himself, for whom William Hartgill acted as Ranger of Maiden Bradley. There is no date to the next letter, but it evidently belongs to this period.

(No. 31. *No date.*) Charles Lord Stourton to Sir John Thynne. (*Original at Longleat.*)

Mr Thine, wth harty recomandasions. Whear as yn yor laste letters you dyd as well wyshe me to walk advysedly, for the wh. I thank you, and that, yn y^{r} judgement, I was symply governed by sertayn off my men: as also that my men shuld detayn a hound off my Lord's Grace, Syr, I shall lett you to wyett (wit) therfor; As for the gubernation off my servantts, allthough I be not the myttest (i.e. meetest) to governe, yet am I not the symplyste to be governed: and as for the outrage and mysusage off my men (i.e. committed *by* my men) wh. you say ys trew, this my letter shall beare wytn̄es, that their apparent acts may be bothe avouched and allowed, untyll the Law, yn the same, be altered. The truth is, two off my men meatt wth Hartgyll's kyper allmoste halff a myle wthyn my Frehay, walkyng thear with his hound as a kyper of the same, for the wch he had receaved beforehaynd contrary warnyng; and my men took his hound from hym; and so shall they do agayn yff the case requyre the lyke, excepte my Lord's Grace comand the contrary, yn the which I truste his Grace wyllethe me as mooche lyberty & com̄odety as any other subjecte.

And as for the hound, he shalbe att my lords Graces comandment with all that I have besydes, trustyng that his Graces opynyon is so yndefferent towards me: the hound to be as well yn my custody, doyng wrong to no man, as he shuld be yn Hartgyll's kypyng oppressyng every man.

Mr. Thine, I do not a lytle woonder what shuld cause you to beare suche a V——— [villain?] agaynste me, excepte you shuld do hit to spyght me withall.

And yff hit be so, truly I shall content myselfe without desertt: and think myself to lose a frynd which is not worthe the fyndyng. Therfor as I have sayd hertofor, yff you lyste to use me as your neyghber you may so fynde me, yff not I can say no more, but that Hartgyll's losse wylbe your gayn. Syr, I have send you by this bearer xl^{s}, that is to say from Myghellmas to Our Lady day: trustyng that you wyll not so moche neglecte my pour goodwyll as to lose hit for Hartgyll's lyes and nead full flatery. This fare your well. From Stourton

"Yo^{r} frynd
CAROLL STOURTON."

"To my frynd Syr John Thine."

In the next letter, to Sir John Thynne, W. Hartgill complains not of Lord Stourton but of a party of Somersetshire gentlemen (all however Stourton-ites) trespassing, as he maintains, in pursuit of deer, upon the Lord Protector's ground, and destroying certain fences newly erected. It is probable that such alleged trespasses were committed not out of a mere riotous spirit, but, (as appears from various documents of this period relating to the borders of Somerset and Wilts) for the purpose of asserting some presumed right to hunt within the bounds of the old Forest of Selwood. The forest extended into both counties and its bounds were frequently a subject of dispute, and not unfrequently of litigation.

(No. 32.) 1549, July 3. W. Hartgill to Sir John Thynne. (*Original at Longleat.*)

"My dewtie humble rememberd. It may please you to understand that sethens *(since)* Trenytie Sonday last past, in my being above *(sic)*, Sir Thomas Horner, John Horner the yonger, Phelyp Horner, Roger Basynge, Roger Mawdeleyne and others, to the nomber of four-score persons, too sundre tymes cam in to my Lord's Grace's frehay of the Holtt and there kylled above ten dere that were seene, and, besydes that, for dyspleasure pulled up my Lord's Grace's new hedges and dytches that was by hys Grace's comaundement lately made in many sondre places, mowche prejudycyally, and dyd sey to my servaunts that met with them, that they wull hunt there and in Bradley woodds all tymes at theire pleasure, wosoever wull say nay, and as it is reported the next weke they wull be there agayne with an hundrethe copulls of hounds. And also in the tyme affore-mencyoned Edward Mompesson, Vyncent Mompesson and other of my Lord's Grace's tenaunts of Mayden Bradley, bothe by day and nyght, have constantly hunted and kylled many dere with crossebowys, your gentle former letters for the reformacion therof in tyme past notwithstanding. I pray you let me know my Lord's Grace's plesure as concerning the same; wheder I shall suffer them so to do herafter, and this I pray Jesu preserve you. In hast from Kylmington the iijrd of July, by your assured

"HARTGILL."

"To the right worshipfull Sr. John Thynne,
Knyght, be this delyvered,"

The two letters following are from Mr. John Berwyke to Sir John Thynne. Mr. Berwyke was Agent or Steward to the Protector for that part of his vast estates which lay about Savernake and Bedwyn. He is believed to have been the Mr. Berwick (sometimes spelled Barwick) who owned the Wilcote estate near Pewsey, father of the heiress Anne Berwick by whom it passed to the Wroughtons. He died 1574 and his monument is on the north side of the chancel in Wilcote church. The letters are dated from Easton Priory (now destroyed) near Pewsey, which had been granted to the Protector at the Dissolution and was for many years the residence of his son Edward, Earl, and great-grandson William, Marquis of Hertford.

(No. 33.) 1549, July 12. John Berwyke to Sir John Thynne. (*Original at Longleat.*)

"After my moste hartyest cōmendacons to you and to my good ladye your bedfeloughe, desyring you to be Good Master to your olde frend and myne Mr. Hartgyll. I perceyve my Lord Sturton hathe complaynyd of hym to my Lord's Grace: And he" (i.e. Hartgill) "hathe answered the same truly as he will abyde by, as he saythe he hathe many thyngs more to declare agaynst my seyd Lord Sturton the whyche he forbearythe at thys present for trowblyng my lord's Grace. I pray you helpe that he maye lyve in more quyetnes or else yt were better for hym to dwell in Turkey, as ye maye perceyve partlye by hys answer and letter. And thus wysshyng you no lesse healthe and felycytie then your gentle herte desyrythe. From Eston the xijth of Julye 1549.

"Your assured to commaunde

"JOHN BERWYKE.

Postscripte.

"Certeyn of thes lewd people of Hamshyre entryd my Lord's Grace parke at Ludgarsall on Fryday last at nyght, brake the parke and toke theyr pleasure in huntyng and kyllyng the dere. But although Mr. Richard Brydges,* who hathe the custody and profytts thereof, dyd not resyst theym, yet I thought it not ryght to be sufferyd beyng my Lord's Grace's: and desyered theym to remove in the mornyng erly, that happy was he that could runne fastyst, nevertheles takyng many of theym dyd show no maner of crueltie uppon theyr further promyse that they wyll do no more so: and hath bownd them to answer when they shal be comaundyd. Further Mrs. Kyngsmyle, her husband beyng from whome, sent me a letter herein inclossed the whyche I pray you show unto my Lord's Grace for true it ys theys lewd people be evyll dispossed.

"To the Ryghte Worshyppfull and myne especyall frend
Sr. John Thynne, Knyghte, deliver."

* Sir Richard Brydges K.B., ancestor of the Dukes of Chandos, died 1558. His monument is in Ludgarshall Church. See "Wiltshire Collections," Aubrey & Jackson, p. 359.

(No. 34.) 1549, Sept. 14. The same to the same. (*Original at Longleat.*)

"After my most hertest comendacons to you and to my good lady with lyke thanks for many your gentylnes. And although I nede notte desyer you to be good Master unto this berer your very frend and myn Mr. Hartgyle, yet he comyng this way, and I heryng the matter wyche he wyll declare unto you, and of the yvyll deallyngs of my lord Sturton, could no les but desyer the same: so that by your meannys my lord's Grace may be advertessed of the seid lord Sturton's extreme doyngs agenst hym, wherby I dought not his Grace wyll take order that his servant may lyve withought danger. I nede not wryght to you of the seide lord Sturton for that ye harde inough yourself at your late beyng in thos parts th'wyche wer not myte (meet) shuld be kept from my lord's Grace. My Lady, my lord's Grace's mother, desyryth you to remembre her as well for th'hangynges of her late chambre at Bromham as also for the blake velvet gown the wyche the late Quene* gave her, as she sayth. And thus most hertely far ye well. From Eston the xiiijth of September.

"Your most assuredly to comaunde

JOHN BERWYKE."

"To the Ryght wōshipfull my assured frende
Sir John Thynne Knyghte be this delyvered."

LEASE OF KILMINGTON RECTORY, AND ASSAULT.

We now come to matter more serious than the capturing of hounds. William Hartgill makes a formal application to the Star-chamber, in which he states that whereas under a regular Lease from Thomas Bennet, Rector, he (Hartgill) was Lessee of the Rectory of Kilmington, certain of Lord Stourton's men had forced an entrance into the house, and had hurt his (Hartgill's) shepherd, and one Richard Coker, gentleman; and that upon a Warrant having been obtained against those men and process served upon them on the part of Hartgill by John Butler, in the parish church of Stourton on Christmas Day 1549, other servants of Lord Stourton's had set upon the said John Butler and beaten him within danger of his life at the very door of the church. He prays a summons for their arrest.

The original document relating to this case has been injured by rats, and the words reciting the precise *year and day* on which the

*My Lord's Grace's mother was Mary, second daughter of Sir Henry Wentworth of Nettlested co. Suffolk, wife of Sir John Seymour of Wolfhall. She died 1550. Bromham (old) House had been the residence of her son Sir Thomas Seymour Lord Sudeley who was executed March 1549-50. "The late Queen" was Queen Katharine Parr, who had married Lord Sudeley, and died 1548. Queen Katharine Parr held in dower, among other estates, the following in co. Wilts:—Rowde near Devizes, (adjoining Bromham), Chilton Folyot, Tockenham near Wootton Basset, Ashton-Keynes, and Marston Meysy.

Lease of the Rectory had been granted to Hartgill are destroyed; but the words "*reign of Edw. VI,*" remain. There is a little nicety in the matter that makes the remnant of date important. The reign of Edward VI. began 28th January 1547. The Lease must therefore have been granted after that day. But at that time *William* Lord Stourton, though living, was absent in France, and there continued until his death October 1548. It must therefore have been during his absence that Hartgill obtained the lease. Recollecting that one of the very first questions raised by Charles Stourton 8th April 1549 (see above p. 263) had been as to Hartgill's right to feed his sheep on the Rectory, it becomes probable that this Lease of the Rectory was one of the acts of Hartgill in which Charles Stourton considered that some unfair advantage had been taken during his father's absence. Still, as that alone would not have formed any justification whatsoever for an ejectment, it may be presumed either that Hartgill had refused explanations, or that Charles Stourton had some counter-claim which he was foolish enough to prosecute in the violent manner described.

(No. 35.) A.D. 1550. To the King our soverayne Lorde.*

In most lamentable wise compleyninge sheweth unto your excellent Majestie your poor subject and daylie orator William Hartgill of Kylmington in your grace's countie of Somerset Esquier that whereas Thomas Benet clerke beinge lawfully seased in his demesne as of fee as in the right of his churche of Kylmyngton . . . of the parsonage and rectory of Kylmyngton in the said countie of Somerset, and he beinge therof so seased at th . . . . of our Lorde God in the said yere of your Majesties reign did demyse grante and to ferme lett unto yor said orator . . . . . Rectory with all and singuler the membres and appurtenaunces for terme of certen yeres yet enduringe by vertue wherof . . . . . was and is therof lawfully possessed; so it is, most dere soveraign Lorde, that one Henry Symes of Stourten in the countie of Wiltes and Owyn at Yew of the said towne yeoman accompayned with too other persons being all servauntes to the Lorde Stourton, of malice prepensed and borne towardes your saide subjecte the xj [day] of December in the thirde yere of yor most gracious reign (1549) riotously with force and armes that is to saie with staves and billes, the mancion house of the said parsonage brake and entred, and then and there on one Robert Rydeowte a poore ympotent shepherde unto your said subjecte being sycke in the said parsonage of dyvers greate beatinges and woundes by the said Henry and Owyn to hym before that tyme given and made, and on oone Richard Coker gent also servaunte to your saide subjecte then and there, beinge in Goddes peace and your highnes, made a grevious assault and affray, and then and there forceablie and riotously brake up the dores of the hall

* Star Chamber Proceedings.

and chamber of the said parsonage house, and them did then and there grevously beate, and also then and there the said ryotous persons did grevously wounde the saide Coker in the right legge so that he is in great daunger of his life and not able nother to help hym self nother to do any service to your grace's said subjecte, and moreover, gracious soveraigne lorde, where your poore subjecte in the last term past, for dyvers and sondry greatte and urgent riottes and assaultes by the saide Henry Symmys, Owyn at Yow, John Blanforde and others comytted and done agaynst your ma^{ties} peace and lawes upon your said subjecte and dyvers others his servauntes wife and children, obteyned and got out of your high Corte of Sterr Chamber your gracious writtes of subpena directed unto the said ryotous and misruled persons there to appeare before your Majestie and the Lordes of your most honorable counsaille to answer unto the saide riottes; and your said orator intendinge to have your said proces served upon the said riotous and mysruled persons, delyvered the same writtes for that only purpose to one John Butler servaunte to your said orator, wheruppon the said John Butler in the day of the feast of the Natyvytie of our Lord God last past in the parish churche of Stourton aforsaid delyvered your said proces to one John Blanforde and Roger Elys, which Blanforde, perceivinge the said writte, beganne with hast to ronne out of the said churche and amongest all the parisheners there then beinge, with a high voyce began to cry oute "Kill hym, kyll hym," sweringe "by Godes blode," and with that crye one John Grene alias Smyth of Stourton aforesaid, Nicholas Mershe of the same, William Cokley of the same, John Prewett, Jesper Grype, of the same towne, Henry More of Kylmyngton yoman, Alexander More of Kylmyngton, Thomas Reynolde of Kylmyngton yoman, Richard Welor alias Suddon of Kylmyngton, husbondeman, being all servauntes and reteynors to the said Lorde Stourton, the said day then and there forthwith assembled them selfes together riotously with billes, staves, swerdes and daggers, and then and there the said riotous and mysruled persons made assaulte upon the said John Butler and then and there at the doore of the said churche, the said John Butler beinge in Goddes pece and your highnes, and thinkynge no maner of evell, but beinge bare-hedded without any maner of weapon upon hym, the said riotous persons that is to saie the said Nicholas Mershe with a dagger, and other of them with staves, did then and there not regarding your Matie nor your lawes nor yet the said sacred place, did grevously wounde the said John Butler upon the hedd with too grete woundes and leftt him lying at the said church dore for ded, untill his wyf and other of his neighbours conveyd hym home to his house in greate perell of deathe to his utter undoinge, of whiche beatinge and woundes the said John Butler is and shalbe the worse in his body all the daies of his life to his greate payne and shortninge of life: the manyfolde mysdemeanors of whiche riotous persons not beinge ponysshed dothe daily give occasion that many greate riotes, assaultes, and manslaughters be daily comytted and done in your said countie, for reformacion wherof it may therefore please your highnes, the premysses tenderly considered, to graunte your Ma^{tes}. most gracious writte of subpena to be directed unto the said Henry Symes, John Blanforde, Richard Sudden alias Wheeler, and the other riotous persons aforesaid comaundinge them thereby personally to appear before your Grace in your high Court of Sterr Chamber there to answer to the premysses and to abide suche order therin as to your highnes and your honorable councell shall seme to stande with equitie right

and conscience. And your poore subjecte shalbe most bounden to pray to Almightie God for the most prosperous and victorious estate of your highnes with increase of all honor longe to continue and endure.

(*In dorso*) John Blandford and Richard Suddon alias Weler, subpenas immediat'.

The two parties were bound over to keep the peace.

(No. 36.) Council Book Extracts.*

At Westminster the vth day of Junij An^o^ 1550.

"Upon informacon of a greete ryote and unlawfull assembly made by the Lord Sturtone upon William Hartgill, both parties were sente for and the matter beinge examined, it appeared that the said Lord Sturton had attempted a notable offence, wherefore he was this day committed to the Fleete and bound in a recognezones of 500 markes that his men and freindes should keepe the peace againste the said Hartegill and all his.

Likewise the said Hartegill knowleged a recognesones of £200 to the Kinges use that he, his servantes and frendes should keep the peace against the said Lord Sturton and all his; and that he himselfe should give his daylie attendance on the Counsell till he be discharged."

At Greenwich 14 June, 1550.

"A recognizance taken of the Lord Stourton in 5000 marcs with condicon to attend daylie on the Councel till further libertie be granted to abide their ordre and to keep the peace he and all his." (Council Book fol. 52.)

At Westminster ult. Junij, 1550.

"A recognizance taken of William Hartgill of 500 marcs. The condicon to appear at Allhallowtide next and in the meane tyme when so ever he shall be called observing the peace for him and all his against the Lord Sturton and all his." (Ditto fol. 65.)

Westminster 18 July 1550.

Entry concerning a licence for the Lord Admiral [Lord Seymour of Sudeley] to go into Lincolnshire.

"And because he desired the companie of the Lord Stourton therefore licence was given him also for his absence for xl daies." (Do. fol. 88.)

Otelands 7 September 1550.

"A lettre to the Lord Stourton declaring the release and discharge of his recognizances." (Do.)

At Westminster 25 Novr. 1550.

"Wm. Hartgill de ——— in com: Wiltes recognovit se debere Dno Regi £200, etc."

"The condecon to keepe the Kinges peace as well against the Lord Sturton and all his as against all others the Kinges subjectes." (Do. fol. 169.)

Westminster 11 March 1550—1.

"Lettre to the Lord Stourton that he may well enough help his brother Andrew with money towards his return into England without th' offence of the Kings Maj^tie^ notwithstanding the offence of the said Andrew being now pardoned by his Majestie upon the said Andrew's submission." (Do. fol. 242.)

*Harl. MS. 352, 82b.

The Protector Somerset was now appealed to, not in any official capacity, but as a mutual friend and their near neighbour in the country, to interfere between Stourton and Hartgill. The application had no doubt been made by Sir John Thynne, in writing to whom the Protector thus refers to the subject:—

(No. 37.) The Protector Somerset to Sir John Thynne. (*Original at Longleat.*)

"We have receyved your letters. * * * For the matter between my Lord Sturton and Hartgill, We shall at our next meeting with my Lord Sturton doo what wee can to make an end between them.

"And whearas you write that you are informed wee had given from you * the kepyng of the game of the Holt † and Bradley Woods unto my Lord Sturton, you shall understand that wee have permitted unto hym to be but onlie Master of our game there, as wee intend to permit hym the like, with th' office of High Stuarde also, in dyverse other places, in consideration of certyn friendshipp he hath done unto us of late. For the Holt wee had of Mr. ——, wee have promised it unto hym agayne of whom wee had it, as we keep it not still in our owne hands. Howbeit wee intend as yet to occupie it ourselff. * * * And thus fare you well. From Sion ‡ the xth of August 1551.

"E. Somerset."

Riotous Entry on the Demesne of Mere A.D. 1550-1.

Among the Star Chamber Proceedings of (probably) 1551, or 1552, there is a very long List of Interrogatories sent down into co. Wilts, for the purpose of closely inquiring into the particulars of certain assaults alleged to have been committed by Lord Stourton and his agents upon Thomas Chafyn and others, by forcibly seizing Mr. Chafyn's sheep on the demesne lands of the Manor of Mere.

From these interrogatories it appears that on the 18th September 1550, Lord Stourton sent notice to Mr. Chafyn to give up possession of the said demesne lands and laid an indictment before the Justices: but that nevertheless on the 16th February following (1551) Mr. Chafyn's servants having charge of the sheep thereupon were attacked by Lord Stourton and his servants armed with weapons: the sheep were driven to Stourton House and impounded,

* i.e. "Taken from you." The reader will not fail to notice the Royal plural *we*, the use of which, in his private letters, gave offence to the enemies of this powerful man.

† The name of a wood.

‡ Syon Monastery, co. Middlesex is mentioned in an Act of Parliament 4th November 3 Edw. VI. among a vast number of estates granted to the Duke. He resided there, and among the Marquis of Bath's papers is a MS. account of expenditure by the Protector in alterations, &c.

but were afterwards restored to their owner. That John Blandford, Richard Mackhill and eight others, on the 16th May, armed with weapons, again entered on the demesne lands and assaulted Leonard Chafyn, Thomas Horton and Robert Clemente, beating, "manassing" (menacing) and mis-entreating them; taking from them "one ferratte, one iron barre, a bagge, a bottle, a purse conteyning ixs. in money, and one plowme of feathers: and did also carry away the said Leonard Chafyn, &c., against their will to the mansion-house of Lord Stourton, where they were shut up in a prison in the house for some days and afterwards released." On the 12th July other servants of Lord Stourton, also armed with weapons, entered the demesne of Mere and took prisoner Thomas Hopkins, shepherd to Mr. Chafyn, and carried him also to Stourton House and kept him in prison some days. On 12th August they again went to the folds of Mr. Chafyn on the said demesne and took out 240 sheep which they drove to Lord Stourton's grounds, and, by his command, proclaimed them in the markets as strayers, and still detained them. On the 22nd August, Lord Stourton attended by his men all armed, entered the demesne and drove out 1000 sheep of Chafyn's and impounded them also. Mr. Chafyn served a "replevy" for their delivery, in spite of which they were detained. On 24th August, Lord Stourton and his servants entered the barley-fields, part of the said demesne, carried away 40 loads of barley and "innyd" it, (i.e. took it home and housed it.) Further, that Lord Stourton or his servants had threatened "the seyde T. Chaffyn at any time to slaye, kill and hurt hym, hys sonnes or servaunts, if they were taken upon the said demesne lands."

In explanation of these riotous proceedings it may be stated that the Manor and Park of Mere were (as they still are) part of the estates of the Prince of Wales as Duke of Cornwall. Lord Stourton's father William had a lease of them in 1544 from King Henry VIII., but it seems that Mr. Chafyn also claimed them under another lease granted in the name of Prince Edward, King Henry's son, as Duke of Cornwall. These two claims led to a Suit at law which is referred to in Coke's Reports as one involving

some nice points touching the Crown's rights during the minority of the Duke of Cornwall. That however Charles Stourton established his claim and had it confirmed to him, appears from the Petition of Dame Anne his widow (Document No. 66) in which she prays, towards her child's maintenance, "only the Estate of Stourton, *and the lease of the Manor of Mere granted to her late husband.*"[1]

Coward's Complaint.

Among the Proceedings in the Star Chamber 6 Edw. VI. is another complaint lodged against Lord Stourton by one Robert Coward for a violent ejection of him the said Coward, from some copyhold land at Seals Clevedon[2] near Stourton.

[1] The Stourton family had a very ancient connexion with Mere. So far back as 1399-1400 (1 & 2 Hen. IV.) there had been a Grant by Henry IV, as Duke of Cornwall, to William Stourton (see top of pedigree p. 244) on a repairing lease for five years at 66s. per annum, of "Our Lodge and the herbage of our Park of Mere; Our beasts of chase to be also reasonably kept up," ("ultrà rationabilem sustentationem ferarum nostrarum.") The Stourtons had also long been watching for the chance of purchasing it. In 1552 the Steward of Mere, for the Crown, was Sir John Zouche: and in that year King Edward VI. had some intention of selling it. In a letter upon the subject to the Royal Commissioners, dated Wilton 9th January 1552, Sir John Zouche recommends that the sale should be postponed, and says "Indede the late Lord Stourton" (William, who died 1548) "in the tyme of the late King Henry th'eight was very desirous of the purchase of it: which when his Majestie" (Hen. VIII.) "understode, he did furthwith stay it, although the money were before-hand paid." (Sir R. C. Hoare, Mere, p. 26.) The Patent Rolls inform us that Charles Lord Stourton had the lease of the Manor of Mere renewed to him for forty years, in 1553. The riotous proceedings mentioned in the Text were most likely Charles Stourton's own way of asserting his rights before the law did so more regularly. It will be recollected that at the end of the Narrative of the Murder (above, p. 253) an allusion was made to some violent seizure of Mr. Thomas Chafyn's stock in payment of certain damages said to have been awarded to Lord Stourton in an Action against Chafyn. The "Action" mentioned in the Narrative does not seem to have been the regular trial at law about the lease: so that there may have been *more* riotous proceedings. The reader will probably be satisfied with the number set before him, without requiring any further identification of the particular causes that led to them.

[2] Seals (now Zeals) is a Tything in the parish of Mere, containing two Manors, Seals Aylesbury (or Over Seals) and Seals Clivedon (or Nether Seals); the second name in each case being that of an ancient owner. The arms of the Clivedon family are on the gallery in Mere Church. Seals Clivedon adjoins Bonham

(No. 39.) Oct. 1552. To the Kyng our Soverayn Lord.

"In moste humble wise sheweth and compleyneth unto your excellent Majestye your pore subject Robt. Coward, that where at a Court holden at the maner of Seylis-clevedon and Woodlands the xxix day of August, in the sixt yere of your most noble raign cam one Jane Dycke wyffe of William Dycke, whiche held one close of lands and pasture with the appertenaunce in Woodlands called Grete White Mede, and two acres of errable lande with th'appurtenances in Southbrooke called Pyper's Acres, which the said Jane did holde of the said maner according to the custome of the same for terme of her lyffe, and then and ther surrendred the premusses in to the Lordes handes to the use of your seid subject, Randall his son, and Edith his dowghter, to whome seison was delyvered by the lorde to have and to holde to your said subject, Randall and Edith, for terme of their lyves and the longer lyver of them successivelye, according to the custome of the seid maner: by force whereof your seid subject was admitted tenaunt and paid his fyne and did his fealty. And after your said subject into the said premusses did entre and was therof seized in his demesne as of freeholde according to the custome of the said manor, and your said subject, as beyng therof seized, the issues and profittes therof did quyetly and peasably perseve and take untill now of late that Charles Stourton Knyght, Lord Stourton, John Webbe, Rich. Dicke, John Blanford, Roger Horseman and William Dackham, with dyvers other ryotouse and evill disposed persons to the nomber of xij to your said subject unknowen, ryotously and in ryotouse maner, that is to saye with swordes, buklers, billes, bowes and arrowes and other maner of wepons in maner of warr arrayed, the xxij daye of October in the sixte yere of your most noble raigne entred into the premusses apon the lawfull possession of your seid subject, and then and there ryotously with like force expulsed and put out your seid subject from the possession of the same, and then and there with like force took one Robert Lawnsdown, being the servaunt unto your seid subject and kepyng the catell of your said subjectes apon the premisses, and him did imprison at Mere in the seid countie of Wiltes, and then and there the cattell of your seid subjectes did take and impounde, and the seid Lord Sturton and the other ryotouse persons with that not contented, the seid Lord Sturton and the other ryotous and evell disposed persons the day and yere aforesaid with like force, did put into possession of the premisses the said William Dackcombe contrarye to your Majestye's lawes and statutes in suche cases provyded and contrarye to your gracious pais (*peace*), crown and dignitye, to the perrillous and evell example of all suche ryotouse and evell disposed persons, except condyng ponysshment be unto them showed in this behalf. In consideracon wherof it may pleise your Highnes the premisses considered to graunt your gracious severall wryttes of snb-pena to be directed unto the said ryotous and evill disposed persons, comandyng them by the same personally to appere before your most honorable Councell in the Sterr-Chamber

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mentioned in a former note. It belonged at this period to Thomas Chafyn Esq. Messuages, &c., in both "Over Selle and Nethersellles" as well as in Mere-Woodlands, are named among the lands of the William Lord Stourton who died in 1413 (I. p. M.): and Seals Aylesbury (or Over Seals) belonged to Charles Lord Stourton, but after his death was obtained by the Chafyns.

at Westminster at a serten daye and under a certan payne by your highnes to be lymytted, ther to answer unto the premisses and after to abide suche decree and order as your said most honorable Counsaill shall take in this behalf. And your said subject shall daily praye to God for the preservacion of your noble estate long to endure."

Maiden Bradley Manor.

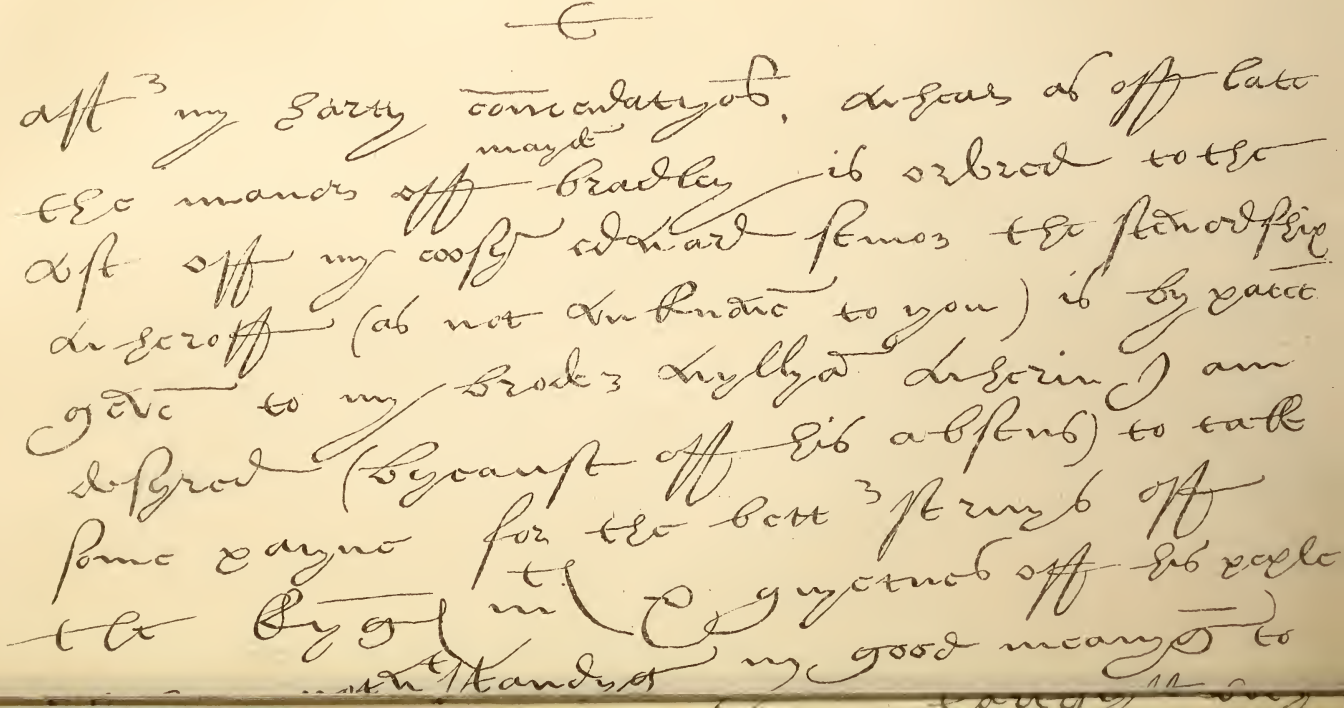
It has been mentioned that W. Hartgill on ceasing to be Steward to the Stourton Estate acted in that office for the Protector Somerset's property at Maiden Bradley. Upon the transfer of Maiden Bradley from the Protector to the elder house of Seymour, under the circumstances described in the note, Hartgill not only lost his office, but had the mortification of seeing it bestowed on William Stourton brother to Charles. This did not improve the state of affairs.

(No. 40.) Charles Lord Stourton to Sir John Thynne. (*Original at Longleat.*)

"After my harty comendacyons. Whereas as off late the Manor off Maiden Bradley is ordred to the use of my coosyn Edward Semor,* the stewardship wheroff [as not unknown to you] is by patent geven to my broder Wyllyam, wherin I am desyred [bycause of his absens] to take some payne for the better servys off the King's Majestie and quietnes off his peple ther, notwithstanding my good meanys to that effecte that honest grome Hartgyll doth not only proclaime his accostomable talk, but also sayth that nether my broder, Gyles Slade, nor I, shall have to do therwith: also contrary to his hauctoryte or comyssion for the same doth make replevyns, which you know doth appartayn to the Steuard to do, which well apperyth by patent, and also that yn all my fader's tyme the replevyns weare made yn his name and not yn Hartgyll's. Att my last beying yn London, I brak thes matters to my cosyn Semor, who lyke a kynsman advised me as I culd desyre. Therfor, bycause I know you to be in credytt with my cosyn Semor, I shall desyre you to send me word wheder

* The arrangement to which Lord Stourton alludes was as follows. The Protector Somerset was twice married; 1st, to Katharine Fillol by whom he had John Seymour eldest son, Sir Edward Seymour (of Bury Pomeroy) and other children. Secondly, to Anne Stanhope, by whom he had Edward Earl of Hertford, and other children. The Priory Lands of Maiden Bradley belonged to the Protector by Grant at the Dissolution, but other lands adjoining had been bought with the money of Anne Stanhope the second wife. At first the Maiden Bradley estate was settled upon the children of Anne Stanhope: but upon its being alleged that the Protector had sold certain lands brought by his *first* wife Katharine Fillol, and sold them without her consent, an Act of Parliament was passed to make good that loss to the family of the first wife, out of lands settled on the children of the second wife. On 11th October, 6 Edw. VI. [1552] William, Marquis of Winchester was ordered to set out the lands: and he accordingly assigned the Manor of Maiden Bradley to John Seymour the eldest son of Katharine Fillol. John Seymour died without issue December or January 1552—3. His brother Sir Edward was his heir: but doubts afterwards arising from the Attainder of their Father the Protector, another Act of Parliament was passed 28th January, 1553, restoring Sir Edward Seymour in blood, as heir to the Duke, and assuring to him the Manor of Maiden Bradley, as originally appointed to his brother John Seymour deceased. [Sir R. C. Hoare, Mere 113.]

Fac-simile of a Letter from CHARLES, LORD STOURTON to Sir John Thynne, A.D. 1553.



at Westminster at a serten daye and under a certan payne by your highnes to be lymytted, ther to answer unto the premisses and after to abide suche decree and order as your said most honorable Counsaill shall take in this behalf. And your said subject shall daily praye to God for the preservacion of your noble estate long to endure."

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—C—

aft my harty commendatyons, whereas as off late
the manor off maydt bradley is ordered to the
use off my cousyn edward semor the stewardship
whereoff (as not unknowne to you) is by patent
geve to my brodes wyllyam wherin I am
desyred (bycause off his absens) to take
some payne for the bett stryns off
the kyng m^t & quyetnes off his peple
thes notwithstandyng my good meanyng to
yt effecte yt honest groome hartgyll doth
not only proclame his accostomable talke
but also sayth yt nethes my brodes; gyles
slade, nor I, shall have to do therwt;
also contrary to his hanctoryte or conyssyon
for the same dothe make replevyns; wt
you know dothe appartayn to ye stewerd
to do, wt well appeyrth by patent,
& also yt yn all my faders tyme the
replevyns weare made yn his name &
not yn hartgyll: att my last beyng yn
london I brake thyes matters to my
cousyn semor; who lyke a kynsman amused
me, as I could desyre: therfor bycause
I know you to be yn credytt wt my
cousyn semor; I shall desyre you to send
me word whedes hartgyll bragg
hath any grounde or no & what yo
oppynyon is therin this fare you well
yo neyghbor & ffryn

Carolus Houttn

Hartgyll's bragg hath any ground or no and what your oppynyon is theryn. This fare you well.

"Your neyghbor and frynd,
CHAROLLS STOURTON."

(*Address*)
"To my frynd Syr Jho Thynne."
(*Docketed*) "Received from Lord Stourton .... 1553."

STOURTON AND SHERINGTON.

What had occurred to provoke the angry epistle next following, or when precisely it was written, we are unable to say. The paper (at Longleat) is not the original letter itself but only an un-dated transcript, endorsed "Copy of Letter sent from the Lord Stourton to Sir William Sherington." From the "*King's* Majesty" being mentioned, it must have been written before the reign of Queen Mary: and there being a reference to Sherington's "authority" and his "commission," it may perhaps have been addressed to him when Sheriff of Wilts in 1552-3. Sir William was owner of Lacock Abbey, purchased at the Dissolution, and the person who obtained a discreditable notoriety by mal-practices in the matter of the coinage.[1]

The "Mr. Herbert" alluded to, was William, created 10th October 1551 Baron Herbert, and next day, Earl of Pembroke. Unless therefore Lord Stourton undesignedly speaks of him by his more familiar name, the letter must have been written before that date.

(No. 41.) Charles Lord Stourton to Sir William Sherington. (*Copy at Longleat.*)

"I have receaved your letters. First as for Thynne's part, I will doo as I see cause, and doubt you not but the cause shalbe agreable to the deade, your warning not geven. As for your authorite to commaunde, it is to me more straunge in this case then I suppose you have commission for. Well I knowe that Mr. Herbert is High Lieutenaunt of the Shire of Wiltshire, and even as I have no vaine hoope but certainly do knowe him to be myn especiall frende whom I wolde trust for my lief and gooddes, so do I not a litle wonder that he will putt wyne into a broken bottell (as you saie he doth). I have also to geve you thanks for your honest reapport made to the King's Majestie's counsell of me, but indeade not thankes wourthie. I doubt not but my truth thearin, scarce as yet well knowen, shalbe hable within fewe daies to blanke your untruth

[1] See "Collections for Wilts," Aubrey and Jackson, p. 91.

well knowen. I do not knowe the contrary but that you are as like to breake good rule as I; and I as like to punisshe you and you me; but let the breache of your allegeaunce be example to your procedinges hensfourth, and then I doubt not of your part. No more you shall have nede to doubt of myn."

"To William Sharington."

(*In dorso*) "Sharington's lre from the Lord Stourton."

Proclamations of Lady Jane Grey and Queen Mary.

The course of public events at that period now brings Lord Stourton before us in a High Official capacity, for which, how little he was qualified by tact and evenness of temper, the reader will be able to judge on perusal of the correspondence next to be produced.

The Protector Duke of Somerset had been beheaded on the 22nd January, 1552, and then, as we are assured by a French Ecclesiastic present in England at the time,[1] "the whole kingdom trembled at the nod" of his successful rival John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, whose title the foreigner has metamorphosed into "Milor Notombellant." On Thursday, the 6th July, 1553, King Edward VI. died; and on the 10th July (four days afterwards) "Milor Notombellant" caused his daughter-in-law the Lady Jane Grey (daughter of the Duke of Suffolk) the wife of his son Lord Guilford Dudley, to be proclaimed. Lord Guilford Dudley was nephew to Charles Lord Stourton; Lord Stourton's mother, Elizabeth Dudley, being sister of John, Duke of Northumberland. On the 19th July, Queen Mary was proclaimed, the news of which was conveyed to Longleat in the following hastily written note, now preserved there.

(No. 42.) "Mary, Quene of Yngland, was so proclamyd Wenseday last at vi off the clocke at Chepe crosse in the presens off the Erlys of Pebroke, Shrewsebiry, and Arrondell, and Bedford, and the lord Darcy, Cobham, &c. Thes lettars credable cam yestarnyght very late. Wrytton thys present Fryday morninge.

Yo^rs^ N. Poyntz."

(*Addressed*) "To Sr John Sentlow."

(*Docketed by Sir John Thynne*) "Mr. Pointz letter to Mr. Sentlow and me—Julii 1553.

A Commission dated 8th July was sent (as he afterwards stated)

[1] Stephen Perlin, whose curious "Description of England," &c., is printed in the Antiquarian Repertory, iv., 501.

to Lord Stourton, appointing him Lord Lieutenant of the Three Shires of Wilts, Somerset and Dorset, with power to raise forces on her behalf. There is probably no reason whatever to doubt that his whole heart was with the cause of Queen Mary and the revival of Romanism: but his near connexion with the Duke of Northumberland would put his allegiance to a sharp test, and it is possible that in the uncertainty of the moment he may not have acted in any very decisive way. Through lack of energy Northumberland's ambitious project of raising his daughter-in-law to the Throne fell to the ground in a very few days. On the 19th of July orders were sent down to certain Justices of Wilts, Sir James Stumpe, Sir John Bonham and others, to proclaim Queen Mary. Lord Stourton at the same time received similar orders; and through an Officer, or Agent, one Mr. Kent, proceeded to do so in the town of Warminster. But Sir John Thynne, being High Steward of that town, conceived it to be his duty to proclaim Queen Mary there, and the more so, as he had received no formal advice of the appointment of Lord Stourton to be Lord Lieutenant. Sir John accordingly appears to have put Mr. Kent aside: whereupon Lord Stourton addressed to him, and to his colleague Sir John Bonham, another magistrate, the following undignified missive, a few words of which have been, in the original, effaced by damp.

(No. 43.) 1553, 22nd July. Charles Lord Stourton to Sir John Thynne. *(Original at Longleat.)*

"Where as of late I resceyvyd the Quene's * Matie's letters as well for pupplyshyng of here highnes Juste title unto the crowne of this Realme of England, Fraunce and Hyreland † with all dyngnytes belonging unto the same, as also for the charge of thre Sherys, that is to say, Wyltes, Somerset and Dorset, the good order of the same and Reysynge, Revueing and Armynge the powyrs of these said Counties ageynst all here highnes enymes as the case shall requyre: doinge my dewtie ther in causyng here Maties Juste tytle and name to be pupplysshed by the officer of Warmester, thou, moste trayturrusly, as I am credeably informed dydes not oonly rebuke, revyle, but also thretyn the saide person to hange hym and indede haddyste sleyne hym, yf good hap had not byn, because he so dyd: wherin thou hast shewyd thy selfe to be . . . not only an untrysty . . but chyefly an arraunt and rank traitor. This shalbe to lett the wyte that I am a man most un.... . . . . a matter. Yet

* In the original, Lord Stourton had written "*Ki*—," going to write "*King's*." *Qu* is written over it.

† He had written "*Ireland*" but corrects it to "*Hy*" as if preferring the Latin, Hibernia.

I lett the wyte that there shall be founde more truthe in me without spot ether of effeccion or of flatery as both are to be found in thee, yea then have byn in thy grete (*master*) whom thou dost soe mowche *(sic)* extoll: therefore I Comaund and Requyre the in the Quene's * highnes name that thou nether stere nor caull togeder ony person or persons to arme or leade levy in batell for ony intent withoute my assent and knowleyge: yf thou do, I lett the wete I will proclayme thee traytour: and as for thee to have a copy of my comyssion, thou getyst none. Thowe shaltt geve credyt to onester men than thy selff, and so I advyse the to do, or eyls I wull spend my blod but I wulbe thy skurge. From my howse xxijth of July.

"By me,
CHARLES STOURTON."

(*Addressed*)" ....(*effaced*)....Thynne wth all speede,"

The Wiltshire Justices then sent their Address to Queen Mary.

(No. 44.) 22 July 1553. To the Queen. (*Original at Longleat.*)

"It may please your Highnes to be advertised that, where in this troblesome and sedicious tyme we your Grace's umble subjects have received diverse and sondry Letters from certeyn of the lords and others at London to set forth the usurped and pretensed titles of JANE doughter to the Duke of Suffolke whiche we never obeid but according to our dutys of alegeaunce have kept your Majesties people in peace and standing fast and firme to your Grace, ready with our force, when we shall hear from your Highness, to advaunce and attend those whom your Grace shall appoint for the suppression of those Rebels whiche seke to interrupt your Highnes just and undoubted title. And have also proclaimed your Highnes proclamation whiche was joyfully received of all your Highnes people. Sithen whiche tyme we have proclaymed also a proclamation sent from sundry the lords and others at London conteyninge th'effect of your Grace's proclamation, the copy whereof we have sent unto your Grace herwith; with also a copy of a letter sent unto us and others for repaire to London for the further servyce of your Highnes, most humbly desiringe your Grace to signifie unto us your Highnes pleasure whether we shall anser the same, or what otherwise shal be your Grace's pleasure we shall do, with your Grace's pleasure known we wol accomplishe to th'uttermost of our powers, with as obedient herts and redy gode will as any your Highnes subjects shall do: as knoweth the Lord who ever preserve your Majestie from enemys and in his Royall estate long t'endure."

(*Docketed by Sir John Thynne.*) "The Copy of Mr. Bonham's, Mr. Wroughton's, Mr. Stumpe's and my Letters to the quenes highnes xxii° July 1553."

The same gentlemen then state their case to the Privy Council.

(No. 45.) 1553 July 24. To the Lords of the Council. (*Original at Longleat.*)

"Our Duties remembered. Whereas your Lordship and others the Lords there addressed your Letters of the xixth of this present unto us among others not only for the proclayming of our Soverayn Lady Quene Mary to be in just

* Again Lord Stourton had written K, as if going to write *King*. This trifling over-sight is only mentioned as some little proof of the passionate haste in which the letter was evidently penned.

and lawfull possession of Th'imperiall coroun of this Realm, to take order that the subjects should be kept in due and faithfull obedience unto her, but also for the better service of her Highnes to appoint certeyn gentlemen of the Shire whom we should think mete forthwith to repaire unto London with their convenient furniture to do that in her Highnes behalfe should be commaunded unto them: These shalbe to signifie unto your Lordships that havinge accomplished the too first parts of your Letters and mynding to take order for the third, the Lord Stourton not only caused himselve to be proclaymed in Warmynster, but as we are informed in divers other places, the Quene's Highnes Lieutenant of the countyes of Wiltes, Somerset and Dorset, by vertue of her Highnes Letters set forth by him, to him sent from Her Highnes as he affirmyth, of the viiith of this present, the copies whereof we have sent unto your Lordship herewith, with also the copy of his letters and precept addressed for th'execution thereof.

Wherfor we desire your Lordship to declare unto the said Lords so as we may be advertised thereof from them and you what we shall do further herein for th'accomplishement of our duties towards her Highnes, whiche we wol endevor ourselves to ensure to th'uttermost of our powers, as knoweth the Lord who ever preserve your Lordship. From Broke, the xxiiijth of July

"James Stumpe."

(*Docketed by Sir John Thynne*) "The mynute of Sr Wroughton's, Sr Stumpe's, Sir Bonham's, and my Letters to the Lords of the Counsaill, 1553."

(No. 46.) 1553, July 26. Sir John Thynne's Reply to Lord Stourton's Letter No. 43. (*Original at Longleat.*)

Jesus.*

"I having received letters for the proclayming of the Quene's Highness our liege Soverayne ladye, and repayring in quiet order to Warminster (whereof I am High Steward) for the purpose, at my coming thither was answered by that seditious and lying vile knave Kent, that I should not proclayme her Highness there that day, declaring that you had given him so in commandment, which was strange to me to hear, for two causes, the one for that no good subject ought to deny the setting forth of Her Highness' most just title in good order; the other, for that if ye had borne me the like friendship as I have and meant towards you, ye would have made me privy thereunto being officer there, and so nere unto you, and not have committed the doing thereof to so vile a person, which might have besemed the best within the Realm in his own person to have put in execution; yet I, taking this thing to have risen rather of the cankerdness of that varlet towards me than that ye would either for the matter's sake or lack of friendship toward me commit any such thing to him, send one to you in friendly sort to desire to know the truth of your Commission, offering myself ready for the accomplishment of the same as the case should require; and wher(as) yester-night at my Repair home I thought to have found the copy of your said commission if you had received any, I found a letter sent hither from

*The private letters written by persons of a stricter sort in those, and also in later days, were constantly headed, either with this Sacred Name, or "Emmanuel," or (as in Bishop Ken's case) with the sentence "All glory be to God." As a memento to a letter writer, to write in a Christian spirit, and to let his thoughts and words be those of charity and peace, a prefix of this kind was appropriate and useful; but in some cases that have come under notice the contents of the letter have not always been answerable, either in subject or style, to the auspicious commencement.

you which toucheth me so near as I cannot leave it unanswered. And wher(as) in your said letters ye say 'ye received the Queen's Majestie's Letters for the publishing of Her Highness' just title to the Crown of this Realm of England, France and Ireland, with all dignities belonging unto the same, as also for the charge of iij Shires, that is to say, Wiltshire, Somerset and Dorset, the good order of the same and Raising, levying and arming the powers of the said countries against all Her Highness' enemies, as the case shall require, doing your duty therein causing Her Majestie's just title and name to be published by the officer of Warminster, (as ye say) I most traitorously, as ye are credibly informed, did not only rebuke, revile, but also threaten the said person to hang him, and indeed had slain him if good hap had not been, because he so did,' which I answer is most false and untrue, for I made no quarrell to him therefore as all the town and country can and will testifie, but my doings there to be to the setting forth to the uttermost of my power of Her Highness' most just title to the Crown, and sure I am that neither myself, nor any of mine, nor any other to my knowledge, drew any weapon upon him, or offered to strike him, nor yet threatened to hang him (although I once saved him from hanging) but indeed I told the varlet I would make him know me (and so I will) to be High Officer there, and not in this troublesome time, or at any other time, to proclaim any lieutenancy there without shewing commission from the Queen's Highness, or other sufficient warrant for the same, as he did now, neither showing commission, copy of commission, nor yet letters of your hand to declare the same, but only his own credit which, being so vile a knave, methought to sklendre * in such a case, all things considered. And wheras ye call me 'not only traitor but also arrant rank traitor,' without cause, my duty of allegiance resyrved, I therein defie you and all others, and when time may serve I will purge myself of that vile name to your and all others' shame that shall charge me therewith. Wher ye let me to wit also in your said letters that there shall be found more troth in you without spot either of affection or flattery as both are to be found in me, yea, than have been in 'my great master, whom' (ye say) 'I do so much extol:' I let you to wit as for my troth and duty to my Soverayne I will compare it to be as much and as unspotted as yours or any other's, and I pray to God that when others shall be sifted as I have been, their's be found no more spotted nor blotted than mine hath been; and as for flattery hitherunto, I never flattered you, and Master have I had none but the King's Majesty sithens (*since*) the death of the Duke of Somerset, nor have depended or sought to extoll any one subject before another, nor whom ye should mean thereby I know not. Farther, wher ye command and require me in the Queen's Highness' name, that I neither stir nor call together any person or persons to arm or levy in battle for any intent without your consent and knowledge (denying me the copy of your commission), assure yourself I will do nothing without good warrant and authority to bear me in that (be)half. Either let me have a copy of your Commission by this bearer, or else to advertize me to whom I may send for the same, which soon I will according to my duty obey with as obedient hearty and humble good will to the uttermost of

* "To sklendre," i.e. *too slender*. In a Proclamation by "Jane the Quene," and therefore precisely of this date, the word "sklanderous" is used two or three times, for slanderous. (Loseley MSS. p. 125.)

my power in all points as any subject or liege man her Highness hath within this realm. And I would ye knew it, your threatenings shall not make me forget the obedience of a good subject, wherefore I overpasse them at this tyme. From Longlete the xxvith of July 1553.

"JOHN THYNNE."

(*Endorsed by Sir John Thynne.* "The copy of my letter to the Lord Stourton xxvi July 1553.")

The next document is, in the original, not the actual letter sent and received, but a copy of it, apparently in the hand-writing of Sir John Thynne. In style and matter it so nearly resembles Sir John's own answer (No. 46) to Lord Stourton's (No. 43), that at first it seemed to be Sir John's rough draft of his own answer (No. 46). But, though extremely like No. 46, it is still a different letter; for in the first place it is endorsed as "The copy of Sir John *Bonham's* letter," and in the next, it contains a particular expression—"I wol set my foot by your's," not to be found in No. 46: to which words it will be noticed that Stourton specially retorts in his reply, "Therefore set thy foot," &c. It is accordingly not improbable that Bonham, either as a fellow-magistrate, or perhaps, Deputy High Steward of Warminster, had attended and supported Sir John Thynne in the scene there with Mr. Kent: that Lord Stourton had consequently written to Bonham in the same tone as to Sir John Thynne, and that Thynne and Bonham, having received one and the same kind of despatch from the angry Lord Lieutenant, had prepared between them one and the same sort of reply.

(No. 47.) 1553, July —. Sir John Bonham's Reply to Lord Stourton. (*Original at Longleat.*)

"Whereas you write me your letters charging me that I should not only rebuke and revile (that vile and lying knave Kent) but also thretyn him to hang him, and that I had slayn him, if gode hap had not been, for that he did by yor comaundment proclaym our Soverayn lady the quenes highnes in Warminster by vertue of her highnes comyssion to you (as you say) addressed; The hole country can and will witnesse with me that ye falsely and unjustly charge me therewith, as manyfestly it did and may appere by my comyng thither myselve and my doings there in that behalve, thinking it more my duty to do it myselve than to comyt it to any verlet: who, hering myn intent, made report over night that I should not proclayme her hyghnes there that day, for the whiche and proclayming your lieutenantsie of thre sheres (3 *shires*) without showing any comission from the quenes Matie, or letter of your hand signifying the same, was the cause wher I used him as I did, considering the Lady Jane, doughter to

the Duke of Suffolk, was proclaymed so near you and within your lymities and nothing doon to the contrary, with also your nerenes of blode to th'arche traitor fawtour of all this mischeve.* And where ye call me traitor ye(a) and Rank traitor, without spot or cause, provoking me to shew my selve an yll subject in this troblesome tyme, whiche ye shall never be hable to do, my duty of alegeance resyrved, and this busynes quietyd, assuer your selve I wol set my fote by yours to purge my selve of that vile name to your greate shame.

Wher ye also write to me of my greate Syn, [I cannot make no aunswer therunto, for that I know noon suche. For sure I am,—*erased.*] I let you wit I have served noon but a King this xx yeres. As for flatery, if you call your words you had to me at Sarum to remembraunce you have small cause to charge me therewith till more tyme of quietnes may serve for the better triall thereof. And to conclude for this present, for that I mynd, as I have alweys hitherunto doon, to live and contynue in the obedience of a goode subjecte, I require you in the quenes highnes behalfe that either you send me by this berer the just copie of yor comission or els t'advertise me to what gentlemen of wurship within this shire I may repaire unto, that have seen the verry comission signed with her highnes hand, whiche I wol for duties sake towards her highnes, beinge my soverayn and liege Lady, as redyly obbey to th'uttermost points thereof as any subjecte within this Realme, with my tenants and officers; notwithstandyng your thretyning woords. And in the meane to (*while*) you shall fynd me obedyent in trust therof notwithstanding my formar ernest intent to have repayred to hir Matie with such poor force of horsemen as I was able, not doubtyng but that you wylbe my dyscharge yf any lak be found in me therof. From ———" (*rest wanting*).

(*Docketed*) "The copy of Sir John Bonham's Letter answering the Lord Stourton's lewd (*i.e. violent*) letters, July 1553."

To the last (No. 47), Lord Stourton then replied.

(No. 48.) 1553 July. Charles Lord Stourton to Sir John Bonham. (*Original at Longleat.*)

"What I have wrytten I have wrytten,† and thereto wyll I answer much to the allege of yor prowd brags, and all can as you touch me with the proclymacyon of Janne Greye to be nygh me and nothing done by me therin to the contrarye, although it was not nedfull for me to mak you privye of my doyngs, yet your

* John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland.

† As Lord Stourton quotes Scriptural words (John xix., 22) it may here be mentioned that there are Two short Theological Treatises in existence which, strange to say, there is some reason for thinking must have been written by him. The first, preserved among the papers at Longleat, is a "Discourse on Matrimony." The hand-writing resembles his, and on one of the pages is scribbled (as if the proprietor of the MS. were trying a pen) "Charoll Stourton," spelt as he signs his name in some of the Letters. At the back is written "Qualis rerum lectio, talis legentium profectus." This composition is merely in the rough copy, full of alterations. The second, in the British Museum, is a work of about 60 leaves, upon "The Real Presence," in the form of a "Dialogue between Fraunces Flacher and Tom Tynker." This is a fair copy, in the hand-writing of a clerk: the Introduction commencing "To the moste excellent and vertuous prynces my Lady Marie's Grace;" and is signed "Carollus Stourton." At the end these words, "This work ended and compiled the 14 October 1549." Both of them indicate a ready acquaintance with the Bible and the writings of the Fathers. In the Pedigree there is no other Charles Stourton living in 1549. An *Edmund* Stourton is mentioned by Dugdale among the learned Benedictines of Glastonbury as a writer of several Religious books.

betters of more honest trust can be my wyttnes what my intent was. Wheras you somewhat touch me with the bloud of a traytor, supposing summe parcyalytye in me for the same, if you allege the same susspectyon by question to the Quenes Highnes, her Matie, I am sure, will fullie answer you. I let the witt, Bonham, ther is nether the blood of uncle nor brother which shall make me forgett my naturall aleageaunce, and therefor set thy foot to myne when thou wylt, I doubt not but my truth shall waye thy malece. As for your goynge to the quenes highnes wth y^{or} ayde in her behalf, I saye it is after meat mustard. As for the copye of my commyssion I suppose ye have alredy sene it at the hands of my cosyn Sr Henry Longe, also in the cittie of Sarum at the Mayor's hands, wherin ye may do as ye think good: and so, consydering my dutye, wilbe y^{or} watcher.

"To Jhon Bonham of Brook."

(*Endorsed*) "The mynute of my Lord Stourton's letters lewdly written to Mr. Bonham, July 1553."

The next document does not appear to be in any way connected with the Proclamation quarrel, but by the order of its date it must be inserted here. It refers to some collision between the followers of the two Lords, Pembroke and Stourton, about which nothing is known. But as William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, had been displaced from the Lord Lieutenancy of Wiltshire to make way for Queen Mary's nominee, Lord Stourton, the retainers on both sides had probably conceived themselves in duty bound to take the earliest opportunity of getting up a fight. In Haynes's State Papers (Edw. VI. p. 162) it is mentioned that "Roger Erthe alias King, servant to the Earl of Pembroke, and William Ferror, servant to the Lord Stourton, were, for making of a fray, committed to the charge of the warden of the Fleet."

(No. 49.) 1553, Aug. 19. The Council at London to the Council at Court.*

"After our right harty comendations. * * * Touching the mattre betwene the Earl of Pembroke's servauntes and the Lorde Sturtone's,† what is allredy doon, *you my Lorde of Norfolk* can well declare. This afternoone we will traveil to the best of our powers to make a parfight ende thereof. And thus we bedde your goodde Lordeshyppes most hartyly well to fare. From London

* State Papers Domestic, Mary, vol. i. Art. 9.

† To this feud, Aubrey thus alludes in his Life of William, 1st Earl of Pembroke. "Wm. 1st E. of Pembroke being a stranger in our country (Wilts) and an upstart, was much envyed, and in those days of sword and buckler, noblemen, and also great Knights, as the Longs, &c., when they went to the Assizes or Sessions at Salisbury, &c., had a great number of retainers following them, and there were in those days, feuds—e.g. quarrells and animosities, between great neighbours. Particularly this new Earle was much envyed by the then Lord Sturton of Sturton, who when he went or returned from Sarum, (by Wilton was his rode) would sound his trumpetts, and give reproachfull challenging words. T'was a relique of Knight errantry." (Lives of Eminent Men, ii., 479.)

the xixth day of August 1553. * * * Your goodde Lordeships to commaund
"Winchester. J. Bedford. Shrewsbury. R. Ryche.
Wm. Paget. Chr. Rusheworth. Henry Jernegin.
Jo. Masone. Jo. Bakere."

(*Addressed*) "To my very goode Lordes and others of the Quene's Highnes Counsaill attending upon her Grace's person in the Courte.
Hast, hast, hast, hast with all possible diligence."

His loyalty to Queen Mary being now full blown, Lord Stourton, writing from the Court to the Sheriff of Wilts, denounces all favourers of Lady Jane Grey, proclaims Sir John Thynne and Sir John Bonham traitors, and in the Queen's name dictates to the Electors of Wilts what kind of Representatives they are *not* to send to Parliament.

(No. 53.) 1553 September 20. Charles Lord Stourton to the Sheriff of Wilts.* (*Original at Longleat.*)

"After my harty comendacyons thys shalbe nott onlye as your frynde butt chefflye as doing my dewtye of Allegeance to geve yowe and all there the Quenes Maties true and feythefull subjects advyse and warnynge to have good respecte in the Eleccyon as well of the knyghts as of the burgeses, for the parlyamente, nowe comyttyde unto youre dylygence, that ys to seye, in case by yow^{r} awne knowlege, or by creadyble Reporte made unto yowe, yow shall understonde onnye person within yor countye hathe eyther favorede, sett fourthe, mantaynyde or proclaymyde the lady Jane Graye in souche traytorous ordre, as ys well knowne unto yowe, that yowe neyther electe or geve voyce to onnye souche, yee [*yea*] or have att onnye tyme lette or interruptyde onnye good procedynge off the quenes Matie. And for a farder declaracon unto yowe, as in dysburdenynge myselfe and chargynge yowe with the same, I lette yowe wytte that Syr John Thynne and Sr John Bonham have abusyde ther dewtys unto their Soveraygne ladye the quene's hyghnes, uppon the artycles wherof they stande presentlye acusyde, ether to suffre the lawe or elles to be att ther fyne by the quene's mercy. Furder I am comaundyde to geve yowe to understande, that the quenes pleasure ys, nott to have onny souche spottyde persons within her courte off parlyamente. Wherfor say nott butt that I have warnyde yowe. And I requyre yowe to kepe thys my lettre safflye as well for my dyscharge as for yow^{r} warraunt. Thys fare you well. From the Court the 20 off Septembre 1553.

"Yo^{r} lovynge frynde,
Charylles Stourton."

"To my lovinge frend the Shereife or Shreif's Deputye of Wiltsher and to all my lovinge neybors assembled for the electyon of Knights of that Shere."

*John Ernele, Esq., of Cannings. Edward Baynton had been appointed Sheriff of Wilts after the death of King Edward VI. (6th July 1553) by Lady Jane Grey; and the order for his Patent, signed "Jane the Queen," without date, is still preserved in the Rolls Chapel Office; but to that order is prefixed another signed "Mary the Queen," dated 6th July 1553. How long Baynard continued Sheriff is not known: but John Ernele appears to have been Sheriff in the latter part of 1553. See List of Wilts Sheriffs, Wilts Arch. Mag., vol. iii., p. 213.

Sir John Thynne and Sir John Bonham then proceeded to bring an action against him for slander, probably grounding it on the following "Articles," the draft of which, revised by Sir John Thynne, is among the papers at Longleat.

No. 51.) "CERTEN ARTICLES to be objected against Charles Lord Stourton on the behaulf of Sr John Thynne and Sr John Bonham, Knights.

1. *First;* his proclayming hymself Lieutenant of the Thre Shires, viz., Wiltes, Somerset and Dorset, without shewing any commission to warraunt the same [to any gentleman of Wiltes to our knowleadge; *erased*].

2. *Item*; the keaping of the Quene's Hieghnes Letters bearing date the viii^th^ daie of July, without publisshing or proclayming the same untill the xxij^th^ daie foloying.

3. *Item*; ——— Thornehill, being more familiar with the said Lord Stourton then others, came the xvij^th^ day of the said July to the house of the said Lord Stourton, and tarieng there all that night departed from thence the next morning, viz., the xviij^th^ daie to the Towne of Shaston in Dorsetshire being distant from the said Lord Stourton's house not past v miles, and there proclaymed the Lady Jane Grey, for the title of the Crown.

4. *Item*; the xix^th^ daie of the same July was the said Lady Jane Grey proclaymed at the town of Frome in Somerset-shier, being in like sort distaunt from the said Lord Stourton's house on the other side not past v miles, he doing nothing to the let or withstanding of the said proclamation.

5. *Item*: at Welles in the said countie of Somerset, being distaunt from his house x miles, wheare the like proclamacion was made, and the Busshop of Bath * preaching a vile and unseamely sermon in his Cath. Church (what daie certainly we know not) against the Quene's Hieghnes Title, the saied L. Stourton neverthelesse neither sturing or doing any thearein untill iiij or v daies after th'apprehension of his unkle the Duke of Northumberland: and also that Sir John Saintlow, Knyght, had taken order for the said Busshop's fourthcoming, according to the part of a good subject, at the least iiij daies before, and then the saied L. Stourton rode to the saied Busshop and by his auctoritie newely apprehended hym.

6. *Item:* After the Bishop of Sarum † had proclaymed the saied Lady Jane, Wensday the xix^th^ daie of July, and by letters that came to him in post the Thursday foloying about vi of the clok at night had revoked the said former proclamacon and set furth the Quene's Highnes just title, a servant of the L. Stourton's lieing at the said Busshop's for newes advertysed hym thereof: howbeit incontinently the said L. Stourton not geving credit thereunto wrote his letters to the said Bishop to be advertized of that he wolde aunswer unto. Whereappon the Bishop sent hym the veary letters, whereby he proclaymed the Quene's Highnes, which were from — Penruddok, servaunt to th'Erle of Pembroke."

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* William Barlow: deprived by Queen Mary in 1553.

† John Salcott or Capon, formerly Abbot of Hyde, Bishop of Sarum 1539—1557: called by Stevens the "Judas" of Salisbury Diocese.

[N.B. *The last "Item" in the original is crossed out; the following paragraph to be substituted: which, together with all the remainder, is in the handwriting of Sir John Thynne.*]

"The Lord Stourton received a letter from the Bishop of Sarum the xxth of July with the copy of a Proclamacion, to proclayme the Quene's Highnes, which he wold not credite unles the Bishop sent him th'originall signed with his hand, as he wold answer to it, albeit he hath confessed to have before that received the Quene's own letters for that purpose which he kept secret vij daies at the least.

Furder, he never proclaymed the Quene till his uncle was apprehended.

7. *Item:* He promised to get the Subsidy forgiven, seeking thereby to pervert and take awry the Quene's Highnes thanks if it be ment to be forgiven.

We were in fere of him lest he wold have entered and rifled our houses when we had been goon forth in the Quene's aide, as he ons did myn (Thynne), when I was at Windsor with the King before the Duke of Somerset's first apprehension.

Then follow two letters to Sir John Thynne from his lawyer Mr. Humphrey Molsley, of the Middle Temple. [Mr. Molsley had a droll habit of concluding his sentences with an "&c."]

(No. 52.) Mr. Humphrey Molsley to Sir John Thynne. (*Original at Longleat.*)

"Harty salutations premysed according to my bounden duety. With suche thanks as my harte can thynke and wyshe to you for your fatherly gentlenes lately shewed to me. * * *

"Sir John Bonham hath proceded with his action agaynst the Lord Stourton. His councell wold delyver to me the copye thereof for the halfe of v pounds which they say his coste was in draweyng the Writte. I have a copy thereof moche better chepe which they know nott. The Lord Sturton's councell wold gladly (as I erste shewed to you) have your frendshyp, &c: and savyng the frendshyp you are joyned with Mr. Bonham all was agaynst the Lo. Stourton's harte which he wrote, spake or dyd att any time agaynst *you*. I perceyve that he feareth, loveth and regardeth you as moche as you do your derest frende. His honour may nott suffer to submyte hym to you. You may use wyttie polycie (kepyng your owne councell) to shew yourselfe to Mr. Bonham and all others to be proceding ernestly with your action agaynst the Lo: Stourton to purge his sklaunder, and that you have comytted the delygent folowyng thereof to me and other lerned Councell, which may wel be beleved, for I shew the lewde letters openly in our hall to every man and help the matter forth with suche exposcyon that moche dyspleaseth his Councell and maketh them and all honest men ashamed to here the rasshe folly of the lord, &c. I thynke the sayd Lord dothe so perfectly repente his rasshe folly towards you that you shall have of his owne offer more then Mr. Bonham shal be able with all his charge to recover, &c. You may, as occasyon may honestly serve, encourage Mr. Bonham to procede with effecte, &c: And even so you may write ernestly to me to procede with letters I will shew to his Councell to styrr him up to seke your

frendship, &c. I am bolde thus to wyshe you by honest polycie to kepe yourself quyett and yett to have your owne desyre satysfyed. My chief care is to help you to be att quyett (for your owne profytte) with all men. And yet (knowyng the wolfe from the shepe) you may enter into famylyar credite and company with suche as you best knowe approved, &c. Charytie is the virtue which most pleaseth God, who encreas you in all virtues to his pleasure with encreas of comfortable wurship to all your lyfe, aggreying with th'example of the most holy and virtuous men of wurship that hath lived. Wherunto with dayly prayer I comytte you. From the quyett Temple this Monday xiijth of Novembre scribled as may appere—1553.

"Y^{r}. most bounden
HUMFREY MOLSLEY."

(*Docketed*) "*Recd.* 16 *November* 1553."

(No. 53.) 1554, January. The same to the same. (*Original at Longleat.*)

"Tyme putteth me in mynde of my bounden duety to write unto you even so trustyng that you, my good Lady and all others your friends are in prosperouse helth, which God long continewe with muche encreas, &c." * * *

"This day the Lord Robert Dudley is arraigned in London as some thynke to be made redy to hange and suffer with his brothers, &c. * * * It is also reported that th'Erle of Pembroke is in great credyte and restored to all his former authorytie and charge of your countrey and Walys. The Lord Stourton is here lytle talked of. Of his credyte and favour I here none of th'accustomed braggs, &c,. &c. God kepe peace amongst us and honorably turne and appease the sedycyous and rebellous harts of all the lewde persons. And I pray to God to geve us grace to serve and obbey hym in all virtuous lyvyng, dayly prayers, charitie and love. Wherunto with my dayly prayer I comytte you. So leaving further to trowble yonr mastership att this presente I wysshe to the same helth and moche encrease of cowmfortable wurship. From the quyett Mydle Temple this Monday of January.

"Y^{r}. most bounden
HUMFREY MOLSLEY."

"To the right Wurshipfull Sir John Thynne Knyght,
geve these att Longleate in Wiltes."

The next letter is from Mr. Chafyn to Sir John Thynne, written probably during the disturbance created by Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion against Queen Mary.

(No. 54.) 1554 Feb. 7. Thomas Chafyn Esq. to Sir John Thynne. (*Original at Longleat.*)

"My dewtie rembred. Pleaseth it your good mastershipp to be advertysed that these be the certen newse that I can lerne yn Sarum. The Lorde Stourton sent hys letters from Basynge Stoke to Sarum upon Tewarsday last, as he came from London ward, directed to the Mayere and his bretherne there, comaundyng theym by the same letter that the hole Citie sholde be yn a rediness to serve the Quene's Majestie under hym with all theyre wepons and artelary: and not to move at none noo otherse comaundment, whatsoever he wer, but only at hys,

excepte they sholde resseyve the quene's specyall letters. And also declared by the same letter that he was Levetenaunte of this shire and others: And had auctoryte to put the lawse yn execusion withyn the same shires: and the Duke of Sothefolk * and his ij bretherne were by name proclamyd Traytors apon Mondaye last yn Sarum. I have sent you gunpolder and bowstrynges, for weche-hazell bowes there be none. Arnold the joyner I cannot speke to, but a frynd of myne wull cawse hym to cum over to you. The gunpolder coste me xvi^{d} every pownde but it is warrant me good: yff you wull have eny more, at that price you may have inow att Corneles yn Sarum. The blessed Trinyte preserve you safely. Wreten from Sarum the vijth of February by yours assuryd

T. Chafyn of Mere."

"To the right wurshipfull Sir John Thynne
Knyght, be this delyvered with spede."

The last document that has been met with relating to the quarrel arising out of the Proclamation of Queen Mary is a letter from Sir John Thynne to a Mr. Wolseley. It is a very long one, reproaching that person with ingratitude and neglect in sundry matters. The following extract relates to our subject.

(No. 55.) 1555, July 15. Sir John Thynne to Mr. Wolseley. (*Original at Longleat.*)

— "As touchynge the Lord Stourton's suit agaynst me as daungerous as you make hyt (consyderyng that in dede hyt is but a feyned quarrell) I lyttell waye yt, not douting but that Justice shall be so mynystred that the truthe shall take effect wheresoever hyt be tryed, although you (whiche shall not become you) woold be against me. And as touching Modie's fryndshipp in decept of hym that doeth putt hym in trust I will nether prayse nor allowe. Neither can I immaggyn why Modie shuld offer me suche fryndshipp (beyng a man with whom I never hadd acquayntance), onlesse hyt were for some other respect then I can well understand. And where you say he is ernest to have lovynge fryndshippe betwene the Lord Stourton and me, and hath practised with my Chapleyn for the same I thynke you knowe that I sought not the breache of fryndshippe betwene hym and me neither will I seke the reconsiliacyon.

I do not a lyttell marvell that you charge me that I should ayde, styrre or comforte Mr. Hartgill to be stowte agaynst the Lord Stourton, consyderynge that yourself knoweth (no man better) that I never meddell in any man's matters but myne own, although I pitie his manyfeste injurie and almost utter undoing, and sure I am if the honorable councell dyd as well know all his doyngs towards Hartgyll as hyt ys knowen to the cuntrye, there is no doute but they would sett an Order betwene them."

The result of this great slander case we have no means of knowing.

* Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, father of Lady Jane Grey. He was beheaded on Tower Hill, 23rd February. His brother Thomas 27th April.

Seizure of Hartgill's Corn, &c., and his Ejectment.

The seizure of Hartgill's corn and cattle (mentioned above, p. 267) must have been made not later than 1554, because in his last Will dated 12th January 1555 he alludes to their unjust detention by Lord Stourton. The following Order in the Council Book probably refers to this matter. Of Jane Stourton whose name is associated with Hartgill's, nothing is known.

(No. 56.) At Westminster 7 Aug., 1554. (*Council Book, p.* 156.)
"This day the Lord Stourton being called before the Lords of the Council to answer unto certain articles objected against him as well by one William Artegill as by one Jane Stourton, promised before the 1st of September next to send unto the Lord Chancellor suche matter as he hath to showe for the discharge of the matters laid against him, or elles to take sum such end with both the said parties as they have no further cause to complayn on that behalf."

There are in the Council Book other Orders relating to this quarrel throughout the years 1555 and 1556, to some of which Lord Stourton appears to have paid very little attention.

In Trinity Term 1556, process was awarded against him and damages assessed at £368 6s. 8d.

(No. 57.) Hartgill plaintiff, Lord Stourton and others defendants.
"Restitution of the corne and goodes by the ryotours taken from him and for his other woundes for damages in all £368 6s. 8d. given by the Court upon the plaintiff's oathe taken in Court that the goodes were soe much worth."

The ejectment of Hartgill from lands at Kilmington was made, apparently with much violence, by Lord Stourton and his men, on 12th January 1556. The particulars of it are extracted from a Latin Document.[1] The fields specified will be recognized as among those which are named in the original Deed of Sale from William Lord Stourton to Hartgill in 1543 (see p. 262), out of which Charles considered himself to have been "cosened."

(No. 58.) "At Frome, before James Fitz-James Kt.,* John Mawdley gentleman, and their fellow Justices, on the oath of Twelve Jurors; It was presented 14 August 1556, That Owen At Yew, yoman, Anna At Yew his wife, spinster,† John Jefferyes, weaver, Walter Gallofer husbandman, Thomas Marsh bow-

[1] Coram Rege Rolls, 3 & 4 Philip & Mary, xxxiiij.

* Of Redlynch, near Bruton co. Somerset. He appears to have been afterwards charged with abetting Lord Stourton: for in document No. 62 he is fined £100 to the Crown and £50 to the two widows Hartgill.

† Observe, several times in this document, the word spinster applied to married women.

string-maker, Margery his wife, spinster, Henry Danyell mason and Joan his wife, spinster, all late of Kilmington, and John Marteyn husbandman late of Yarnfield, did on xij January 1556, armed with swords, shields and staves, forest-bills and knives, riotously and forcibly take possession of a messuage called Modon's with 6 acres of meadow, a sheep-yard (*bercariam*) * and 24 acres called Hollens-hays: also a pasture and grange called New-hays and 24 acres of pasture and wood, all in the parish of Kilmington, whereof William Hartgill Esquire was then seised in his demesne and of fee, and therefrom did expel the said Hartgill, and he from the said 12th January to the present 14th August is forcibly kept out of possession. The said Owen at Yew and the others, having been summoned to appear at Westminster by Leonard Sanhill their Attorney on Monday next after the morrow of All Souls say they are not guilty and put themselves upon their country. Sir Thomas White, Kt., being prosecutor for the Crown, the Trial is appointed for the Octaves of St. Hilary next."

The "Octaves of St. Hilary next" would have been 20th Jan., 1557: but the Hartgills did not survive to see the day.

Lord Stourton was committed to the Fleet Prison, but was released 19th December, 1556, under a Bond for £2000 to re-appear, &c. The judgment against him, and his imprisonment were never forgiven. Under pretence of paying the £368 6s. 8d. damages, he went to Kilmington and carried off the Hartgills to their death. It is a curious coincidence that the day of the murder 12th January, 1557, was the anniversary of the Ejectment in 1556, and also of the day on which (as above-mentioned) W. Hartgill executed his last will in 1555.

Lord Stourton's Trial, &c.

The names of the Jury on the trial were the following.[1]

"Jurati pro Domino Rege et Reginâ.

Willms. Horsey, armig.'	Johes Abyn, gent.	Johes Batt, gent.
Anthonius Barrowe, armig.'	Willm. Eyer, gent.	Carolus Moggryge, gent.
Thomas Sowthe, armig.'	Ricus Bryant, gent.	Johes Nycholas, gent.
Robtus Gryffyth, armig.'	Thomas Pyle, gent.	Xtoferus Tuckar, gent.
Willms. Webbe, gent.	Robtus Baylye, gent.	Thomas James, gent.
Gabriell Pledell, gent.	Willms. Moggryge, gent.	Simon Hunt, gent.
Ricus Hungerford, gent.	Thomas Cater, gent.	

Anthonius Hungerford, miles, Vice-comes."

* "Locus berbicibus alendis idoneus, alius tamen ab ovili." ["A place adapted for rearing sheep, but not the same as a sheepfold."] Ducange.

[1] From the "Baga de Secretis," a pouch containing Official Documents of the trial, such as Writs, &c.

(No. 60.) The Indictment.*

"Jurati presentant pro Domino Rege et Dominâ Reginâ, quod cum Carolus Stourton nuper de Stourton in comitatu predicto, Miles, Dominus Stourton, Deum pro oculis suis non habens, sed instigancià diabolicà seductus, ac gerens in corde suo per longum tempus odium mortale versus quosdam Willielmum Hartgyll nuper de Kilmyngton in com. Somerset generosum, et Johannem Hartgyll nuper de Kilmyngton generosum, filium et hæredem apparentem ejusdem Willielmi Hartgyll, machinans que et intendens eosdem W. H. et J.H. ad mortem et finalem destruccionem suas perducere, ex suâ nephandâ et diabolicâ maliciâ mentem proposuit et intencionem die Lunæ proximâ post Festum Epiphaniæ Domini viz: xj°. Jan. 3to anno 4to Phil. et Mar., ad dictam nephandissimam maliciam, mentem, propositum et intencionem sua exequenda, aggreatis sibi apud Stourton Willielmo Farre alias Cutter, Henrico Symmes, Johanne Davyes alias Johanne Welshman, Rogero Gough et Machuto Jacobbe, omnibus nuper de Stourton yomen, domesticis servientibus dicti Caroli Stourton, ac diversis aliis hominibus ad numerum 40 personarum, accessit ad Kylmington ubi Will. Hartgyll, et J. Hartgyll ad tunc habitabant et ibidem falsè et maliciosè pretendens eosdem W. H. et J. H. feloniam fecisse, in ipsos W. H. et J. H. insultum fecit ac ipsos ad tunc et ibidem cepit et arrestavit, ac manus eorum à retrò eorum terga legari fecit, eosdem-que quasi latrones et felones imprisonavit, ac ipsos sic imprisonatos detinuit usque horam secundam post mediam noctem ejusdem diei Lunæ, circà quam horam idem Carolus dictos W. H. et J. H. a Kylmington usque quandam domum ejusdem Caroli vocatam Bonham sub custodiâ servientium suorum duci et imprisonari mandavit; virtute cujus quidem mandati W. H. et J. H. à Kylmington usque Bonham eâdem nocte per servientes dicti Caroli adducti fuerunt, ipsos que a tempore adductionis illius per totum diem Martis tunc proximè sequentem viz. xii° Jan. usque horam decimam in nocte ejusdem diei apud Bonham in prisonâ per servientes proprios dicti Caroli custodiri fecit, ad quam quidem horam decimam predictus Carolus perseverans in suâ nequissimâ maliciâ secretè conspiravit cum W. Farre et cæteris suprà dictis ad ipsos W. H. et J. H. apud Stourton interficiendos et murderandos. Et ad facinus et scelus illud horrendum exequendum idem Carolus apud Stourton posteà et circà eandem horam decimam in nocte ejusdem diei Martis ex maliciâ suâ præcogitatâ ac felonicè procuravit et mandavit W. Farre, &c., ad perducendum W. H. & J. H. à Bonham usque Stourton ad intencionem eosdem W. H. & J. H. murderandi. Qui quidem W. H. & J. H. juxtà eandem procuracionem Caroli à Bonham usque ad Stourton per dictos W. Farre, &c., perducti fuerunt, ubi idem Carolus adtunc et ibidem præsens fuit et posteà scilicet eadem nocte circà horam undecimam, apud Stourton in quodam Clauso vocato *Le Worth*, juxtà gardinum Capitalis domûs mansionalis ipsius Caroli, eidem domui adjacente, W. Farre, &c., vi et armis et felonicè in ipsos W. H. & J. H. in formâ predictâ legatos insultum fecerunt. Et W. Farre cum quodam fuste precii 2 denariorum, quem idem W. Farre in manibus suis adtunc et ibidem tenebat, prefatum Johannem Hartgyll super caput suum felonicè percussit. Et predictus H. Symmes cum quodam alio fuste W. Hartgyll

* This document (also from the Baga de Secretis) contains the facts of the murder as already given above in pp. 251 and 252, and is now printed both as evidence of the fidelity of the "Narrative" and as interesting to those who may like to read the story in a Latin dress.

super caput suum similiter percussit, dantes eisdem J. H. & W. H. duas seperales plagas mortales ex quibus plagis W. H. & J. H. ad terram corruerunt et semi-mortui jacebant. Quo facto W. Farre, &c., immediatè corpora ipsorum W. H. & J. H. susceperunt et portaverunt super humeros suos in prædictam capitalem domum Caroli Dni. Stourton, transeundo per quoddam ambulatorium vulgariter vocatum "A Galerie" infrà prædictam domum usque ad quandam cameram domûs illius super quendam locum infrà domum vocatum "A Dongyon" portaverunt, in quam quidem cameram Carolus Stourton circà mediam noctem personaliter accessit ac corpora predictorum W. H. & J. H. fermè mortua jacentia inspexit et vidit, iisdemque Carolo, W. Farre, &c., ad murdram perpetrandam ad tunc præsentibus, W. Farre cum quodam cultello precii 4 denariorum quam in manu suâ dextrâ tum tenuit gulas sive guttura dictorum W. H. & J. H. non plenè mortuorum sed adtunc spirantium et gementium voluntariè scidit, per quod dicti W. H. & J. H. instanter obierunt. Et quod sic Carolus Stourton, W. Farre, &c., prædictos W. H. & J. H. murdraverunt contrà pacem Dni. Regis et Reginæ coronam et dignitatem, &c. Et cum citò W. H. & J. H. sic interfecti fuerunt, eorum cadavera in prædicto loco vocato "a Dongyon" per mandatum dicti Caroli et in præsentiâ suâ per R. Symmes et R. Gough profundè in terrâ sepulta fuerunt. Et Carolus exultans in nephandissimis murdris prædictis Willielmo Farre et cæteris hæc Anglicana verba sequentia adtunc et ibidem dixit et propalavit, *viz.*; "It is but the rydding of a coople of knaves oute of the waye, the which have longe troubled us in Godde's lawes and the Kinge's," in pessimum et perniciosissimum exemplum aliorum consimiliter delinquentium."

(*In dorso*) "Inquisitio capta apud civitatem Novæ Sarum in com. Wiltes xix° die Februarii coram Johanne Prideaux Serviente ad Legem, Henrico Brounker, Christophero Willoughby et Johanne Hooper, Armigeris.

"Per me JOHAN. PRIDEAUX
By me HENRY BROUNCKER
By me CHRISTOPHER WILLOUGHBY
Per me JOHAN. HOOPER."

"Billa Vera."

(*Inserted at the top are these words*), "Cognovit et ponit se in misericordiam Dominorum Regis et Reginæ."

From the "Council Book" it appears that one Ellice, and Sir James Fitz-James[1] were charged with complicity.

(No. 61.) 14 Marh 1556-7.

"A lettre to Edward Baynton that where he hath dispossessed the wief of one Ellice, who is comitted for Lord Stourton's cause, of all his goodes and catalls, forasmuch as his doinges herein appere to be against the order of the lawes both for that the said Ellice is not yet attainted and because also that if he so were yet appeareth it not that the said Baynton hath eny title to the goods, he is willed either to restore the said goodes to Ellice wiefe again untill the lawe shall otherwise determyne, or els to make his indelaied repaire hither to answer why he ought not so to doe."

[1] In page 255 above the Council Book mentions Sir John Fitz-Williams as "committed prisoner on suspicion."

(No. 62.) 6 April, 1557. (Council Book, p. 452.)

James Fitz-james de Redlinch in com. Somerset, miles, recognovit se debere dnīs Regi et Regine quingentas libras bone et legalis monete Angl. Solvend' etc., etc."

"The condicon of this recognizance is such that if the above bounden Sir James Fitz-james do pay unto the King and Queen's Majesties use before the last day of the next terme, the sum of one hundred pounds of good and lawful money of England by way of a fine, and unto the *widowes of the Hartgilles* the sum of fifty poundes, that is to say twenty fyve pounds to each of them to be paid the one half therof between this and the beginning of the next terme and the other half before Martinmas tyde next and further doe contynue of good behaviour towards the King and Quene's Majesties and their subjectes, that then this recognizance shalbe voyd, or els stand in full effect."

At foot is the Autograph of Sir Jas. Fitz-james.

13 May, 1557.

"Where Sir James Fitz-james Kt. was heretofore bound in recognizance for the payment of C^{li}. to the King and Quene's Majesties, the same Sir James being this day before the Lordes of the Council exhibited a privie seal addressed unto him from the Quene's Majestie bering date the xxxth of July 1556 for the lone of C^{li}, together with an acquittance of John Windham Knt., being dated the 18th of October, Anno supradicto, testifieing the receipt of the said money which he desired might be accepted and allowed for the redempcon and payment of this said C^{li}. which he was bound to pay their Majesties, which his requeste was graunted and order given that the said privie seal and acquittance should be delivered to Mr. Comptroller to whom the receipt of the money of the said lone was committed."

Relating to Hartgill Deceased.

(No. 63.) Last Will and Testament of Wm. Hartgill dated 12 January 1555, proved 13 Nov. 1557.

Will of William Hartgill.

"In the name of God amen, the xijth day of January in the yere of our Lord Jhu Christe a thousande fyve hundred fiftie and fyve, I William Hartgill of Kyllmyngton within the countye of Somersett Esquire thanckes be unto God whole of bodye and parfitte of remembraunce make and ordayn this my last will and testament in manner and fourme following. First; I geve and bequeath my soule to God Allmighti, Maker and Redemer of the universal worlde, and my bodye to be buryed in suche holly buriall wheare as it shall please Allmighti God. Item I geve unto Joane my wife all her landes in Shaftesburye borow and Bristoll for the terme of her life. And also I geve unto her one hundred poundes in money parcell of the value of the money, corne, cattall and debtes that Charles Lord Stourton oweth and wrongfully keapeth from me, when and assone as the same may by lawe or otherwise be recovered of the saide Lorde or of his heires, executors or administrators. Item I will also that she doo remayn in my house whiche I now dwell in, in Kylmyngton, during the tyme of her widowhodde, or els in the next house therunto at her awne pleasure. Item of the same debts I doo geve to my sonne Thomas Hartgill xl^{li}

after the tyme of the same recoverye. Item I geve and bequeth unto the same Thomas the lease interest and all my title of my farme called the Woodes end in the parisshe of Mottecome within the county of Dorset. Item if the seid Thomas dye while George his sonne doo lyve or any other childe of his living betwene hym and Anne his wife whatsoever chaunce or myshap shall come to the saide Thomas; I will that the saide An, George and other his children one after other have and enjoy the lease of the same ferme during my yeres. And if it fortune them and every of them to dye within the space of the yeres of the said lease thenne I will that the same lease remayn to Edward my sonne during the same yeres. And if it happen hym to decease afore th'end of the same yeres then I wyll the remayndre therof be to John Hartgill and to Cutbert his sonne and to the children of the said John successively from th'one to th'other as they be of age. Item I geve and bequeath to the said Edward my sonne forty poundes parcell of the debts aforesaide in manner as is before declared to be paide. Item I geve and bequeath also to the said Edward all my right interest and title that I have in certayne grounde of medowe and pasture lying in Est Knoyll within the countie of Wiltes, whiche I holde also by lease for terme of yeres. And if the saide Edward fortune to dye afore the full determinacion of the said yeres, thenne I will the same lease remayn to the saide John Hartgill and Cuthberd his sonne and to the children of the saide John after their deceases in manner as is above declared. Item by thies presentes I doo geve and bequeath unto the saide John Hartgill and to Cutbert his sonne all other my goodes, cattalles and debtes above not geven and bequeathed, in whose handes soever any parcell therof doo remayn or shall happen to be by any meanes, the which John Hartgill and Cutbert Hartgill I doo make ordayn and constitute my true lawfull and hole executours, they to ordeyn and dispoase all the saide goodes cattalles and debts, as by their discrecion shalbe thought most necessary at ther pleasures. In witnesse wherof I the above named William Hartgill have written this my present will and testament with myn awne hande and sealed the same with my seale the day and yere above written. And also I have subscribed my name to the same, By me WILLIAM HARTGILL OF KYLMYNGTON."

Proved the 13th day of November A.D. 1557 when a comission issued to Joan Hartgill the relict of the said deceased and to Dorothy Hartgill the relict of John Hartgill defunct, whiles he lived one of the executors in the said will named, to administer, &c., &c., &c.

An Inquisition of William Hartgill's lands, &c., was taken at Chard, co. Somerset, on the 11th September 1557 before Roger Walrond, Escheator. He was found to have been at his death seised in fee of a farm and capital messuage at Kilmington, and of 59 acres of land with common for 40 sheep, also of two messuages and 40 acres there held of the Crown in chief by service of the twentieth part of a Knight's fee, paying 4s. 5d. annual rent into the Exchequer. Also of a messuage and 52 acres with common called Barkesdale, in Norton in the parish of Kilmington held of

the heirs of Lord Ferrars.[1] Also of the Manor and 646 acres at Hardington, held of the Crown in chief: and of the Rectory and Advowson of the Vicarage of Milton Clevedon: Cuthbert Hartgill aged 10 years and more, son and heir of his deceased son John, was found to be the next heir of William Hartgill.

His widow Joan survived him little more than a twelvemonth. From the next letter she appears to have been sister to Laurence Hyde, grandfather of Edward Earl of Clarendon.

(No. 64.) 1558, Nov. 22. Laurence Hyde to Sir John Thynne. (*Original at Longleat.*)

"Myne humble dewtie remembred. * * I would now have wayted upon your worshippe according to your commaundement but all my folks be sicke, insomuche as I have not one whole man to ryde with me, my boy ys sicke styll and hys nurce also. For so much as hit hath pleased God to place the Quene's Majestie (Q. Eliz.) in hyr seate I shall most humbly desyre you now to extend your goodnesse and save to *my syster Hartgill* that yet she may have the reversion of th'inheritance of Kylmyngton at the least in recompense. The sute is not great, I could by (buy) hit for CXL^{li}. yf hit were to be sold. This would satisfie hyr and occasion all men to thynke that hyr Highnesse did a charitable dede. * * This I leave to troble your worshippe any further at this tyme, wysshinge the contynuance of your helth with increase of woorshippe. From Longleat the xxijth of November 1558.

"Your servant
L. Huyde."

"To the Right Worshipfull and my singler good Master,
Sir John Thynne, Knyght, at London, with spede."

The Lady Anne (Stanley) Widow of Charles, Lord Stourton.

The widow of Lord Stourton was rather harshly dealt with: being made to pay for her deceased husband's goods which by his attainder had been forfeited to the Crown, and apparently had been already disposed of to some one else.

(No. 65.) Order of Council, Greenwich 20th April 1557.

"A lettre to Sir Hugh Powlet Kt., and the rest of the Comissioners for the sale of the late Lord Stourton's goodes, that where the Quene's Majestie is pleased that the said Ladie Sturton wiefe to the said Lord Sturton shall have the goodes of her saied husband, paieing for the same according to the rate of the valor thereof: they are willed to staie the said goodes from sale for the space of 10 days, by which tyme the said Lady promiseth to make ready mony to pay therefore, whereupon they are willed to deliver the said goodes unto her accordingly and to return the money received therefore according to their former comission."

[1] See above p. 265.

The wardship of the son and heir John Stourton, then only a child, fell in the first instance to the Crown; who, according to the second of the two following extracts from the "Book of Wards"[1] sold it to Sir Hugh Pawlet, Kt.

(No. 66.) Wardship of John, Lord Stourton.

1. "By force of Charles Lord Stourton's attainder, and for that at the tyme of his death he was seised of sundry manors, &c., in tayll to him and heirs of his body by sundry ancient covenants thereof made, of which manors some be holden of the King and Queen's Majesties by Knight's service in chief: therfor the wardship of John Lord Stourton, sonne and heyre of the said Lord is given to the King and Queen's Majesties: which said John Lord Stourton at the deth of his father, was of the age of 4 yeres and 2 monethes. And all said manors &c., be worth by yere £319 14s. 2½d."

2. "The wardship and maryage of John Lord Stourton, and for want of hym and hys next heyre male being within ayge, with one annuity of £20 yerely from the deathe of the father, untyll the ward come to th'ayge of 10 yeres, and after the ayge of 10 yeres, with one annuitye of £40 yerely towards hys fynding untill he come to hys full ayge.

"In consideration of the prefarrement of the maryage graunted by the Quene's Majestie to Sr Hugh Powlett, Knyghte, and for that the same Sr Hugh hath byn at some charges in fynding of the office, and shall also content and satisfye John Welche and Humphrey Coles Esquyers for theyre charges and well taking-in about the same office, yt is therefore, the 13 day of Nov. 1557, solde to the seyd Sr Hughe Powlett for the some of £340, wherof £40 to be payed at the suying out of the Letters Patent, and every feast of Easter and Hallotomas after, £50, till the whole be paid."

Against this arrangement the widow presented her petition to Queen Mary, praying that the disposal of her child might be given to herself. If that could not be granted, she would prefer Sir Hugh Paulet to any other guardian.

(No. 67.) A.D. 1557.

"A brief of the Petitions of Dame Anne Stourton to be had to the Quene's Majestie." (*Original at Longleat.*)

"*Imprimis*, Where the said Ladie Stourton hath allredy lost her greatest comfort in this world her loving trew and faithfull husband.

Hit may please her Majestie, calling to her Highnes rememberans his approved truthe at all tymes towards her Majestie, to have compassion upon his Auncient howse, never before spotted in any capitall cryme.

Secondaryly, That hit may seme unto her Highnes most convenient and naturall that the said Lady Stourton now comfortles, may have the educacion of her owen child her heyre and greatest comfortt now left, and of his lyvinge during his minoritie, standing assured in her consciens that her late husband wold not writt for the prefarrment of Sr Hugh Pawlet therein but next unto her (i.e. *excepting after her*) being naturall mother.

[1] Printed in Sir R. C. Hoare's Modern Wilts, last vol. Addenda, p. 10.

Thirdly, the said Lady Stourton, yf her frinds and fortune were not so happie to obtayne the prefarment of her sonne, she cold best content herself that Sir Hugh Pawlet should obteyn the same, bynding hymself to matche hym in his owen bludd and not to make marchaundize of hym: and the said Lady and her frends shalbe bound that her sonne shalbe alwaies forth comyng for th'accomplisshement of suche mariage.

Fouerthly, That the said Lady Stourton may, upon such bonds, have the educacion of her said sonne, being of the tender age of iiij^{or} yeres, untill he be x yere old; and for the educacion and bringing up of hym and the rest of her six small children, and charges of their mariage, the said Lady only desireth the howse of Stourton in Wilts with all the demaynes and commodities thereunto belonging, with lease of the manor of Mere grauntyd to her late Husband, during the mynoritie of the said heire. In consideracion the house appoynted in the Ladie Stourton her Jointer is ruynous and standing in most corrupt heire (*air*), and the demeanes therof is all sett out for lyves, so that she hath no other howse to dwell and bring up her children in."

(*Endorsed*) "Ladie's Demandes of Queene Marie."

According to the Patent Rolls 4 and 5 Philip and Mary (1557) the Crown granted to her the person and marriage of her son.

The next document is the letter referred to above p. 283, as showing that Elizabeth (Dudley) wife of William, and mother of Charles, Lord Stourton, survived her son's execution.

(No. 68.) *Circa* A.D. 1560. Sir John Zouche * to the Lord Robert Dudley.

"After my hartie comendacons to your very good Lordshippe. Pleasythe yt youre good Lordshippe to understand that the olde Lady Stourton, wife to the Lord William Stourton, is deseasede nowe of late, who helde of the Quene's Majestie for terme of her lyffe according to the customes of the manor of Gillingham certeyne customary landes within the seid manor, the reversion of the fee-symple of the seid lands belonging to Charles Lord Stourton and to his heirs according to the seid custome. The Lord Charles Stourton was atteynted of felonie in the lyffe of my lady hys mother wherby the fee-symple of the seyd customary lands are eschetide to the Quene's Majestie, as I understand. And because I know sute will be made to her Majestie for the seyd lands, whereby I might be prevented, the lands beinge of no greater valewe then xx^{li} be the yere, or scaste (*scarce*) so muche, I shall desire your good lordshippe most harteley to be a humble suter to her Majestie in my behalfe that I maye have the prefermente of the seid lands, other to bye (either to buy) the fee symple or to have it in fee-farm paying her Majestie the rent, I beseche your good Lordshippe to travell for me in this and to send me your pleasure by this berer. I am the bolder to troble your good Lordshippe because I take you to be one of my beste frendes and hym that I have moste truste in. If there be any servyce or pleasure I canne do youre Lordshippe I am at your commaundement as I have had good occasion. And thus I end wissheinge youe goode helthe with

* Sheriff of Wilts in 1558: mentioned above p. 306, note, as being the Steward of the Manor of Mere for the Crown in 1552.

muche honour. From Gillingham Lodge the xixth daye of Auguste. By your poore Kynnysman and assured frend

"JOHN ZOUCHE."

(*Addressed*) "To the right honorable and my very good lorde my lorde Robert Dudleye and Master of the Quene's Majestie's horse. Delyver this."

In Phelps's History of Somersetshire vol.i. p. 186 are (taken from No. 159 MS. in the Lambeth Library) two sets of ancient verses, the one called "Wordes that John Hartgylle spake before his Death;" and the other, "Ane Epitaphe upon the death of John Hartgyll:" but both compositions are purely fanciful, and they contain no information of the least use towards clearing up the history of the case.

In concluding this Memoir, the author would add only one remark. There are, he is very well aware, several points in the story left undetermined and imperfect: but without information how can it be otherwise? Even as it stands, almost the whole Memoir has been worked out with considerable difficulty from a number of dispersed documents, some found in one place, and some in another: and all written in singularly illegible hands, the best specimens of which are submitted to the reader in the two Facsimiles that accompany the Paper. Let the reader only try to decypher *those*, and the attempt will make him merciful.

"It is well," says a writer in Blackwood's Magazine[1] "that all of us should occasionally look into what are called the historian's *authorities*, that we may know something of the difficulty of constructing a complete intelligible narrative. We should learn to excuse the historian when he is, here and there, at fault: we should learn not to expect perfect accuracy even in the most carefully constructed narrative."

(Supplementary.)

CONTRACT OF MARRIAGE FOR CHARLES, LORD STOURTON.

The existence in print, of the following document relating to Charles Lord Stourton, was not recollected in time for its insertion in a more suitable part of this Memoir. It is a Marriage Contract

[1] No. DLIX., p. 642.

of the year 1528 (when he was quite a child, see above p. 277, note), or rather, a regular Bargain and Sale of the children of two great Wiltshire families, Stourton and Hungerford. Such contracts were at that period not uncommon, but a more business-like transaction than the present one has not been met with. Sir William Stourton the father sells to Sir Walter, afterwards Lord Hungerford of Heytesbury (beheaded 1540), the wardship of his two sons, *Charles* and Andrew, to the intent that one or other of them may marry any one of the three daughters of Sir W. Hungerford, Eleanor, Mary, or Anne. No such marriage however took place. The original document (of which, being very long, an Abstract only is given) was in the possession of Jacob, Earl of Radnor, and is printed at full length in the Antiquarian Repertory, vol. iv., p. 675.

(No. 69.) Abstract of Articles of Agreement about a Wardship, in order to a Marriage between the Families of Stourton and Hungerford. A.D. 1528.

"By Indenture dated April 4, 19 Hen. VIII. (1528), between Sir William Stourton, Kt., son and heir apparent of Edward Lord Stourton of the 1st part, and Walter Hungerford 'Esquyer for the King's Body,' son and heir of Sir Edward Hungerford, Kt., deceased, of the other part.

Sir William Stourton grants to Sir W. H. the ward, custody and marriage of his son and heir *Charles* Stourton: to the intent that he shall marry one of the three daughters of Sir W. H., Eleanor, Mary, or Anne; whichever their Father shall appoint; such appointment to be made at Easter next ensuing, if the three daughters or any of them assent.

In case of Charles Stourton's death before the marriage is complete, then Sir Walter Hungerford to have like ward, &c., of Andrew Stourton the second son, upon the same conditions.

Sir William Stourton to deliver Charles his eldest son to Sir W. Hungerford at Bonham, co. Somerset, on some day to be named by Sir W. Hungerford before Christmas next ensuing: and in the event of Charles's death before marriage then Andrew to be delivered, within one month after Charles's death shall be known. Andrew to be, at the time, 'unmarried, unaffied, and uncontracted.'

For this bargain, Hungerford, or his Exors, to pay £800, as follows:

At Bonham, within 12 days after deliverance of Charles, £200, and on St. Andrew's day 1529, between 10 and 12 o'clock, 100 marks. The like sum yearly for three following years and on the following St. Andrew's Day £100. Then every year following £100, until the whole is paid.

In case of the Marriage not taking place through the refusal of the sons of Stourton, Sir W. Hungerford to pay no more money, and Sir William Stourton to refund whatever sums he should have received on account of it: and to refund them in like order and time as he had received them.

The first repayment to be on that day twelvemonth after the refusal: at Bonham, at same times as above specified for payment: and so on from year to year.

If Charles or Andrew die before marriage, or if the daughters refuse, or die before marriage, or if Sir William Stourton die, his heir being yet under age, in which case the wardship of him would lapse to the Crown; then Stourton to repay by like instalments as above all monies paid by Hungerford, except £100, and all covenants on Hungerford's part to cease.

Before the end of Hilary Term next ensuing Sir William Stourton to secure to the following Feoffees, Lord Mountague, Sir William Sandes Lord Sandes, Sir William West Lord Delawar, Sir John Zouch Lord Zouch, Sir John Bourchier, Kt., son and heir of Lord Fitzwarren, Sir Henry Wyatt, Kt., Sir Andrew Wyndesore, Kt., Sir John Rogers, Kt., William Ludlowe, John Bonham, Henry Whyte, Andrewe Lutterell, Esquires; and John Stanter, Thomas Banffeld, gentlemen: £100 per an. in lands of fee simple clear of incumbrance, except chief rents and old rents reserved on leases granted by Edward Lord Stourton,* Dame Agnes [Fauntleroy] his wife, or Sir William himself; to the following uses and intents, viz.:

That on the death of Sir William's father Edward, Lord Stourton, Sir Walter Hungerford shall take thereof £50 per an. for the 'finding' (maintenance) of the son and daughter to be married, until the son shall be 21 years of age. On his attaining 21, the said £50 per annum to go to the use of him and his wife, and their heirs male; with other remainders.

And after the death of Edward Lord Stourton and Dame Agnes his wife, Sir W. Hungerford to take the whole £100 per an. for the like 'finding,' subject to the same conditions.

And if after the death of Lord and Lady Stourton, Sir William's son, being married to W. H.'s daughter, shall die, then, the use of the £100 per annum to go to the said daughter: as before limited.

Sir William further agrees, that on the death of his parents and himself, the residue of his inheritance shall descend to the said son and daughter, and their heirs male: except £100 which shall be reserved for performance of *his* will: and also except 400 marks for a jointure to his widow.

Also, that within a year after the death *of his* father and mother he will assure to Feoffees £100 per annum clear in lands of fee-simple for the use of the son and wife, in allowance of her Dower.

Sir John Fitz-james, Chief Justice, to be arbiter in case of any dispute.

In the event of this marriage never taking place Lord Mountague and his Cofeoffees, to hold the lands assigned to them, to the use of Walter Hungerford until he shall be repaid whatever sums he has advanced in the prospect of it.

Sir William Stourton and Walter Hungerford, the two parties to the Deed, are mutually bound in the sum of 2000 marks sterling, to fulfil these conditions."

Since this Memoir was in type, another letter, from William Hartgill to Sir John Thynne, has been found at Longleat. It is, on one account, rather a valuable one, inasmuch as it fully corroborates the statement in the "Narrative" (above, p. 245) that Charles Stourton's attempt to compel his mother not to marry

* Father of William, and grandfather of Charles, Lord Stourton.

again (in which Hartgill opposed him) was one of the principal causes of their falling out.

(No. 70.) 1548, 27 October. William Hartgill to Sir John Thynne. (*Orig. at Longleat.*)

"My bounden duety right lowly remembred. Yt may please you to be advertised that by my servant I have received your kinde letters whiche I take greatly for my consolation: and as concrning my offices in the Holte and Bradely woods there ys a tall fellowe dayly walkinge to kepe the same whiche shall stande you in no penny charge and shall fulfill your comaundement to the utterest. And where as you wrytt to me that no man shall knowe who made informacon of Nycholas Fitz-james unfittinge words for your good will, I thancke you, but my meaninge ys no lesse but I wolde that all the worlde knewe that it ys my deade to sett fourthe the same, and I am able with honest recorde to approve the same to be as I firste to you dyd wryte in every poynte. Althowght my Lorde Stowrton, Horner and the most partye of the beste of the hearers of the matter do daily goo abowt to paynte the matter, yet the trewth wilbe proved at al tymes. I thinke you do take my Lorde Stowrton to be your lovinge frende, and so yt may be true, but there ys in hym but lyttell frendship shewed towards you or enny of yours, for I have herde my Lorde saye of your frendship he passiethe not so greatly as men thynketh. And as tuchynge the matter in varyance betwene my lord Stowrton and M^ris^. Ryce I have accordinge to your advertisement not medelled in it as yet. Furder, you shall understand that my L. Stowrton ys fallen at defyance with Mr. Ludlowe and me bycause we woll not falsley and most untreuly deseave my Lady his mother from all her right and tytle of porcion that shall cum to her by reason of my Lorde's (*William Lord Stourton's*) death and when I had caussed my sayd Lady to goo from my howse against her will to Stourton to be onely at his mynde ordered, he devised Articules of his owen mynde in manner and fourme followinge. Firste, that she shoulde release unto hym all her titles, and that she shoulde ever remayne in his howse at his fyndinge, takinge by the yere one hundreth markes in mouney and not to be charged with man nor woman. If there were matters of variance betwene them unpossible to be remedyed and peaced, then she to goo to his mannor of Caundell and to have two hundredth markes of monney erley by his handes, but yf she shoulde happen to marry or contract her to enny, man or boy, then the payment of the said two hundreth markes for ever to cease and no penny thereof to be payed after. And I tolde hym I had no learninge to frame so great a matter, and tolde hym I wolde not make yt withowt a clause of dystrese to be appoynted in serten lands for the trew payment of the same whatsoever should happen uppon hym, and then he defyed me false vyllaine, and sayed a fore my Lady, M^res^. Ludlowe and my wyfe that he found the report of my Lord's Grace" (*i.e. the Protector Somerset*) "to be very trew of me, for his Grace shewed hym that he should fynde me a false vyllaine as ever lyved, whiche words went very neare my harte. If I wyste that my Lord's Grace sayed so to hym then I wolde I were owt of this worlde, for I trust I never gave his Grace suche cause: my hole trust ys in you. Also I trust my Lord's Grace shall lyke well the proceadinge of your workes as touching your moynnars (*miners*), for in one place

by Yernfeld, in the common, they have searched abowt vj fadom depe, and they finde suche matter that they say shortely they shall fynde there other (*either*) tynne or els leade, withowt fayle: they be skylfull men and do apply their busines effectually and what your pleasure shalbe furder I pray you declare to this bearer. And thus I remayne all yours assured, as knowethe our Lord God who preserve your good worship with long lyfe. Wrytten in haste at Kylmyngeton the xxvijth of October 1548.

"Your man with servyse
WILLIAM HARIGYLL."

"To the righte wourshipfull and my singuler good Master Sir John Thynne Knyghte be this delivered."

(*Docketed*) "1548, From Mr. Hartgyll to my Mr."

Corrections.

Page 286, Document "No. 23" *should be dated* "1551."
,, 287, line 24, after "letters notwithstanding" *insert* "that she would suffer no possession to be taken, but that if," &c.
,, 288, line 8, for "£40," read "£80."
,, 304, before the last paragraph beginning "From these interrogatories," *insert* "No. 38."
,, 318, Document "No. 53" *should be* "No. 50."
,, 324, *insert* "(No. 59)" before the Jury List.

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J. E. J.

H. BULL, Printer and Publisher, Devizes.

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WILTSHIRE

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CORRIGENDA,

(So far as observed) in the preceding Eight Volumes.

VOL. I.

Page 140, note 1, line 2, *for* "demilions" *read* "demi-lions."
,, ,, ,, line 3, *for* "Church" *read* "House."
,, 146, note 1. line 4, *read* "*Pieux quoique preux.*"
,, ,, ,, line 20, *cancel* two lines, *from* "His son John Long," &c., *to* "estate." For the real facts, see vol. iii., 179.
,, 148, note 4, "Horton," *cancel* the whole note: and see vol. v., 318.
,, 152, note 2, last line, *for* "who" *read* "whose son."
,, 186, note 1. Upon revision of the authority on which William of Edington appeared to be a Cheney the evidence is considered insufficient. *Cancel* from line 11 of the note, beginning "He appears to have been," all down to "in French 'Chêne.'"
,, 188, note, line 11. The letters have been more closely examined, and are certainly I. B. They cannot therefore apply to Thomas Bulkington.
,, 189, line 7, *erase* "*Pollette*" before daughters, and insert it before "(Pawlet.)"
,, 190, note 1, *cancel* "Cheney."
,, 253, lines 2 and 5, *for* "Plympton" *read* "Pilton."
,, 257, line 4, *dele* "time."
,, 261, line 7, *for* "forty," *read* "fifty-six."
,, 273, line 24, *for* "Walter Long, Esq. *read* "Lord Manvers."
,, 298, line 21, *for* "1806" *read* "1608."
,, 305, line 8, *for* "1582" *read* "1682."
,, 309, note 1, line 10, *for* "Osterhanger" *read* "Ostenhanger."

VOL. II.

Page 28, line 17, *for* "St. Cecilia" *read* "St. Edith."
,, 153, line 18, *for* "Woodhampton" *read* "Wedhampton."
,, 156, line 14. The Dukes of Bolton never had Earl-stoke.
,, 275, line 24, *for* "Belton" *read* "Bitton."
,, 282, note 1, line 4, *for* "Berkeley" *read* "Russell."
,, 283, lines 3 and 4, *for* "Briggs" *read* "Bridges."
,, 288, line 14, *for* "Rich" *read* "Roche."
,, 382, line 21, *for* "Nephew" *read* "Cousin."
,, 388, line 26, *for* "42" *read* "47."

VOL. III.

Table of "Contents," No. ix., line 2, *for* "1857" *read* "1856."
Page 45, last paragraph, line 1, *for* "Dr. Thomas" *read* "Dr. John, Scott."
,, 51, line 2, *for* "pattée" *read* "flory."
,, 194, under A.D. 1223 *for* "Dantry" *read* "Dautry or Dealtry."
,, 199, ,, ,, 1352, *for* "Of Wootton Ryvers" *read* "Of Ryver in Shalbourne."
,, 199, under A.D. 1361, *for* "Ranger" *read* "Warden."
,, 214, ,, ,, 1565, cancel "where his father Richard Snell."
,, 224, ,, ,, 1692, *for* "Mere" *read* "Mildenhall."
,, 227, ,, ,, 1729, *for* "1780" *read* "1750."
,, 231, ,, ,, 1779, *add* to "R. Cooper" "Jun."
,, ,, ,, ,, 1785, *for* "John" *read* "James" (Sutton.)
, 232, ,, ,, 1800, *for* "Forte" *read* "Fort."
,, 233, ,, ,, 1817, *for* "1753" *read* "1751."
,, 235, ,, ,, 1848, *for* "Close" *read* "College."

VOL. IV.

Page 30, line 16, *for* "principle" *read* "principal."
,, 44, note, line 2, *for* "six" *read* "four." The house was taken down in 1863, but the carved work here described, has been preserved in a new house near the same site.
,, 45, Snell pedigree, last line, *read* "Charles or Christopher Stokes."
,, 47, line 4, *for* "1856" *read* "1846."
,, 49, line 10, *after* "Charles Snell" *insert* "the descendant of."
,, 50, line 23, *for* "Hall" *read* "Hull."
,, 80, line 16, *for* "300" *read* "200."
,, ,, line 18, *for* "D.D." *read* "M.A."
,, 92, line 24, *for* "deceased" *read* "ill-used."
,, 116, line 15, *for* "his native village of K. St. Michael" *read* "the village of Castle Combe;" and under the wood-cut, *for* "Kington," *read* "C. Combe." It was on Mr. Britton's own authority, in his autobiography, that the incident of the fox in the cradle was stated to have happened at Kington, but it has since been ascertained that it certainly was at Upper Combe.
,, 177, line 18, *for* "there" *read* "then."
,, 181, line 2, *for* "encampment" *read* "escarpment."
,, 182, line 5, *erase* "to me."
,, 298, line 8 from foot, "(as he does in p. 177)." The name of "Edington" had appeared in p. 177, only by an over-sight in correcting the press. Page 177 was afterwards cancelled, and "Ethandun" substituted, as originally intended.
,, 320, in wood engraving, *for* "Beckhampton" *read* "Backhampton."
,, 323, line 20, *for* "(1740)" *read* "(1743)."
,, 325, line 1, *after* "Mr. Lawrence" *insert* "Chivers."
,, 327 and 328. The next leaf bears the same paging by mistake. Both leaves are to be retained.

Page 330, line 9, *for* "formed a cove" *read* "formed with them a cove."
,, 337, line 17, *for* "Traids" *read* "Triads."
,, 342, note 1, line 1, *for* "The avenue which south east" *read* "which stretched south east."
,, 342, Ditto, line 9, *for* "seem" *read* "seems."

VOL. V.

Page 94, line 9, *for* "and stone" *read* "sand-stone."
,, ,, line 23, *for* "thought" *read* "through."
,, 95, last line, *for* "represent" *read* "representing."
,, 96, line 1, *for* an accurate" *read* as accurate a."
,, 109, line 3, *for* "spot" *read* "spots."
,, 371, last line, *for* "materially" *read* "maternally."
,, 394, (Several *corrigenda* in vol. v. are noticed on this page.)

VOL. VI.

Table of Contents. Bishops Cannings: *for* "p. 129-159" *read* 121-159.
Page 130, line 4, *for* "the Commissioners of Inland Revenue" *read* "the Crown to whom, under the management of the Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues, &c."
,, 132, line 9, make the same correction.
,, 195, *for* "8, Berwick St. James" *read* "9."
,, 203. line 9, *insert* "not" *before* "long since."
,, 267, line 11, *for* "when" *read* "after."
,, ,, ,, *for* "was" *read* "had been."
,, 270, line 11, *dele* the words "of ease."
,, 296, line 1, *for* "Sir John" *read* "Sir Anthony Hungerford."
,, 396, line 16, *for* "vol. v." *read* "vol. vi." Some *corrigenda* noticed at this page.

VOL. VII.

Page 53, line 7, *for* "Sir Thomas Butler" *read* "Sir Thomas Bullen."
,, 61, line 23, *for* "see plate x." *read* "plate iv., fig. 1."
,, 63, line 20, *for* "plate x. fig. 2" *read* "plate iv., fig. 3."
,, 64, line 6, *for* "(L.)" *read* "(H.)"
,, ,, line 3 from foot, *after* "plate" *insert* "iv. fig. 2."
,, 67, line 15, *after* "drain-pipes" *insert* "plate iv., fig. 6."
,, 75, line 5, *for* "Roman" read "Room."
,, 135, line 16, *for* "in the parish of" *read* "near."
,, 225, 5th line from foot, *for* "1672" *read* "1692."
,, 227, (A few *corrigenda* in vol. vii. are noticed at this page.)
,, 284, line 25, the Heading *should be* "Donhead *St. Mary*" *instead of* "St. Andrew."

VOL. VIII.

Table of Contents. Flora of Wilts, (No, vii.) *for* "p. 103-138" *read* "103-134."

Page 286, Document "No. 23" *should be dated* "1551."

,, 287, line 24, *after* "letters notwithstanding" *insert* "that she would suffer no possession to be taken, but that if," &c.

,, 288, line 8, *for* "£40" *read* "£80."

,, 318, Document "No. 53" *should be* "No. 50."

,, 324, *insert* "(No. 59)" before the Jury List.

INDEX.

Page xxi. *insert* "Fistesberie" (or Fistesferie), ii. 272.

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